

MEMOIRS
AND
REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
PRINCIPAL PASSAGES
Of the REIGN of
LEWIS the XIVth:

AND THE
CHARACTER of PERSONS
chiefly concern'd therein.

By Monsieur *L. M. D. L. F.*

Translated from the French.

L O N D O N:

Printed for MARY KETILBY, and sold
by RICHARD WILKIN at the King's-
Head in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1719.



3 Ly



The TRANSLATOR'S P R E F A C E.



*THE Publisher of these
Memoirs in French, in
his Advertisement to the
Reader, gives some little account
of the Book, and in the Title Page
marks out the Author by the initial
Letters of his Name and Quali-
ty, L. M. D. L. F. by which it
may not be improper to acquaint
the English Reader, that he
means the Marquis de la Farre,
who has given some account of him-
self throughout these Memoirs,
particularly in the third Chap-
A 2 ter,*

The P R E F A C E.

ter, and that with so much Modesty, and seeming Impartiality, as wou'd incline any one to give credit to all that he relates besides. Indeed as far as he regards France, and the Actions of his own Countreymen, there can be little doubt of the Truth of what he writes; since he had no inconsiderable Share in it himself, and declares (Chapter 2^d) that from the Death of Cardinal Mazarin he relates chiefly what himself had seen. The Justness of his Reflections must be left to the Judgment of the Reader. I do not pretend to be accountable for them, much less for any of his Notions which may seem wild, either in Philosophy or Politicks,
but

The P R E F A C E.

but least of all for what relates to our own Kingdom, of which Foreigners generally know so little, that they seldom write perfectly. My Design is only to give a faithful Translation of what he says; which because it contains several Particulars of the History of our own time, which are not known to every one, and may be of use, I thought that Relation, which is the main part of the Book, wou'd abundantly make amends for some Particulars, that he may have mistaken in our own History, which we know better than he; and for any loose Speculation, whether in Government or Morality, that may have fallen from an Author of a different

The P R E F A C E.

Religion from ours, and bred up under a different Constitution.

With respect to the Translation it self, the Reader will find, that I have left the Words Monsieur, Madame, Mademoiselle, Mon-sieur, and several others, as I found them in the Original; not that either I affect French Words, where those of our own Language are equally expressive and significant, or that I am insensible, that we have English Words by which we ordinarily interpret the greatest part of those I here leave in French; but because in the Sense they are here us'd, there are none, that I know of, in the English Language, which will adequately express them.

T H E



THE
PUBLISHER
TO THE
READER.



FOR several Years past
we have seen so many
Books written by Ima-
gination only, and attributed
to Persons, who had not the
least hand in them, under the
Title of *Memoirs*, &c. that I
thought

To the R E A D E R.

thought my self oblig'd to acquaint the Publick, that these *Memoirs* were really written by an Officer of Distinction, who died but two Years since.

Tho' he has taken Precaution enough to conceal himself, it will be difficult to do that, if the least Attention be given to some Particulars which he relates: and for that reason, I have made no scruple to mark him out by the initial Letters of his Name.

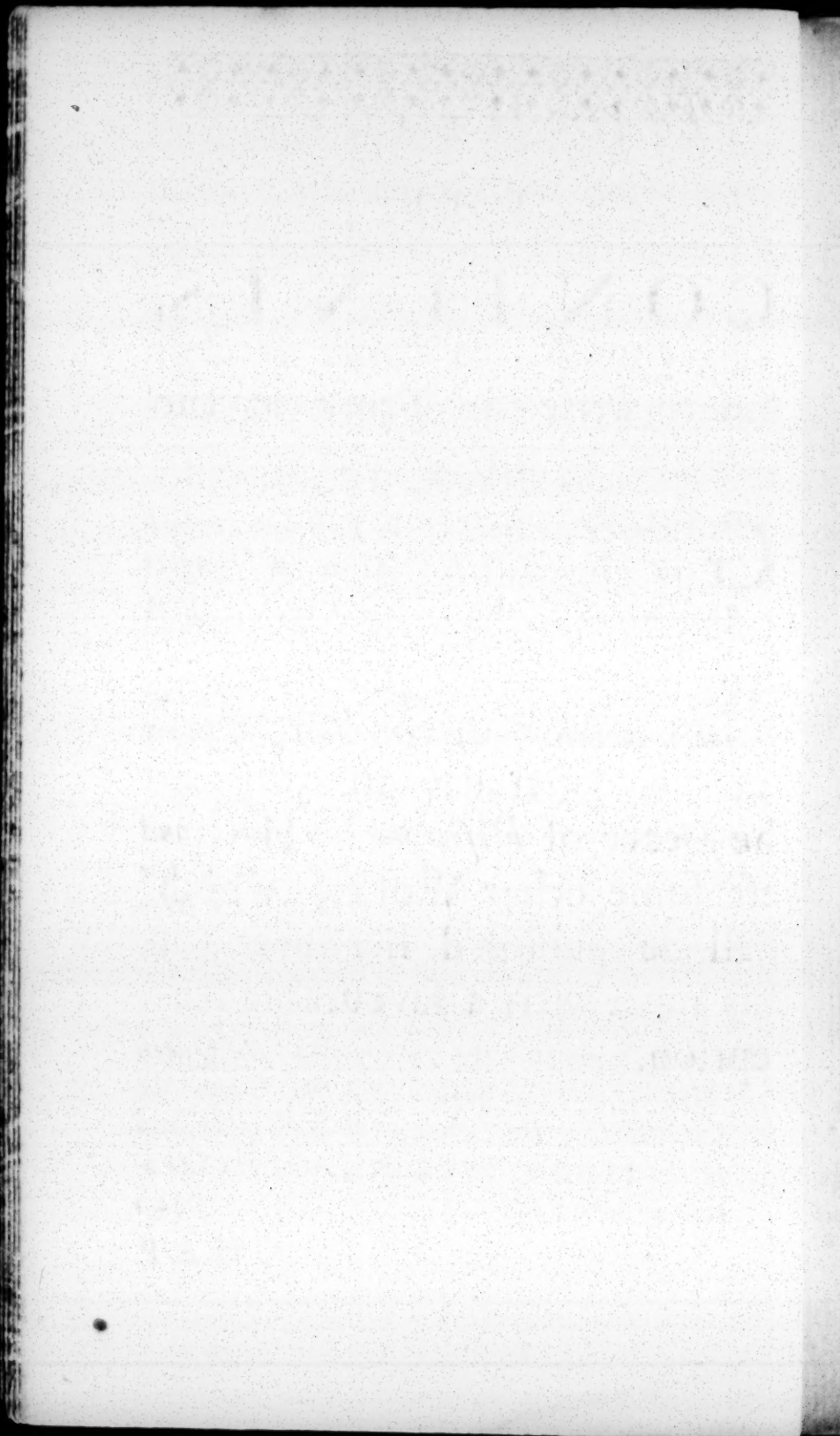
I will say nothing in behalf of this Piece: the Reader must judge of it. They that hate Flattery, and love Liberty, will
herein

To the R E A D E R.

herein see with pleasure, that in all Countries of the World there are Persons to be found bold enough to think freely, and to write the Truth at the Expence of whatever may happen thereupon.

It appears that the Author of these *Memoirs* design'd to carry us to the End of the last War; but he concludes abruptly at the Peace of *Riswyck*. He has left some other Works, which shall be publish'd hereafter, if this meet with a favourable Reception.

T H E





THE CONTENTS.



CHAP. I.

General Principles of the Difference which
there is in the Life, and in the Thoughts
of Men, P. 4

CHAP. II.

*A general View of the present Age; the Cha-
racter and the Changes of it,* P. 11

CHAP. III.

*Some Reflections on what has been said; and
what happen'd to me from the End of the
Year 1662, to the Death of the Queen Mo-
ther on the 20th of January, 1666,* P. 32

CHAP. IV.

*The King's Amours till the Death of the Queen
-Mother; the Disgrace of the Count de
Guiche; of the Countess of Soissons; and
of the Marquis de Vardes, and the Crea-
tion of new Dukes,* P. 40

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. V.

The principal Passages from the Queen Mother's Death to the second Year of the Dutch War,
P. 50

CHAP. VI.

Intrigues in the Court, and the Changes which happen'd there, from the Year 1667, to the Year 1672,
P. 72

CHAP. VII.

The Sequel of the principal Events in the War and in the Court, from the End of the Year 1672, to that of the Year 1674,
P. 92

CHAP. VIII.

The Continuation of the Events of the War, and Intrigues of the Court, from the End of the Year 1675, to the Peace of Nimeguen, concluded in the Year 1678,
P. 142

CHAP. IX.

The most considerable Passages at Court, from the Peace of Nimeguen to the War which began with the Siege of Philipsbourg, at the End of the Year 1688,
P. 167

CHAP. X.

The most considerable Events in the War and at Court, from the End of the Year 1688, to the Peace of Rislwyck, in the Year 1697,
P. 213



MEMOIRS
AND
REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
PRINCIPAL PASSAGES
Of the REIGN of
LEWIS the XIVth &c.

The INTRODUCTION.



*I*T was with reason, in my Opinion, that Frier *John* saying to honest *Pantagruel*, *We Monks, alas! have nothing but our Life in this World: Pantagruel* answer'd; And *pr'ythee what have Kings and Princes*
B *more?*

2 MEMOIRS of

more? Indeed every one has only a certain Number of Days : all the Business is to make use of them. Therefore I will not examine physically into the Life of Man, and the Causes of its short Duration ; I am not studying to prolong it. One might be willing to make it better, and more innocent, by Precepts of Morality ; but I am almost persuaded that they are useless, and I believe that every one has in him the Principles of the Good and Ill which he does, against which the Counsels of Philosophy have little Power. He only is capable to make advantage of them, whose Inclinations are conformable to those Precepts : and he that has contrary Inclinations, acts against Reason with more pleasure, than the other takes in obeying it.

You will ask then, what my Design is. It is to draw, as it were, a Picture of Human Life. The Inquiry here is not, what Men ought to think and do : 'tis what they think and do
in

Monfieur L. M. D. L. F. 3

in fact, and what they are capable of doing; and to judge of it by what they have done. All Books are but too full of *Ideas*. The business is to present real Objects, in which every one may discover himself and others: And it may possibly happen, that setting before Men's Eyes this multitude of different Roads, made choice of by Mankind in order to attain Happiness, those that are most plain and direct will be follow'd, if not by the greatest, at least by the soberest part. 'Tis this has given occasion to say, that the Book of the World is of all others the most useful; because it is the only one, that can by experience shew the true way to Happiness, which neither is, nor can be any other, than Truth and Virtue.



2 MEMOIRS of

more? Indeed every one has only a certain Number of Days : all the Business is to make use of them. Therefore I will not examine physically into the Life of Man, and the Causes of its short Duration ; I am not studying to prolong it. One might be willing to make it better, and more innocent, by Precepts of Morality ; but I am almost persuaded that they are useless, and I believe that every one has in him the Principles of the Good and Ill which he does, against which the Counsels of Philosophy have little Power. He only is capable to make advantage of them, whose Inclinations are conformable to those Precepts : and he that has contrary Inclinations, acts against Reason with more pleasure, than the other takes in obeying it.

You will ask then, what my Design is. It is to draw, as it were, a Picture of Human Life. The Inquiry here is not, what Men ought to think and do : 'tis what they think and do
in

Monfieur L. M. D. L. F. 3

in fact, and what they are capable of doing; and to judge of it by what they have done. All Books are but too full of *Ideas*. The business is to present real Objects, in which every one may discover himself and others: And it may possibly happen, that setting before Men's Eyes this multitude of different Roads, made choice of by Mankind in order to attain Happiness, those that are most plain and direct will be follow'd, if not by the greatest, at least by the soberest part. 'Tis this has given occasion to say, that the Book of the World is of all others the most useful; because it is the only one, that can by experience shew the true way to Happiness, which neither is, nor can be any other, than Truth and Virtue.





CHAP. I.

General Principles of the Difference which there is in the Life, and in the Thoughts of Men.

THE first Distinction which ought to be made in Man, is that of Soul and Body : But not to stop at a thing, which is perhaps more difficult than we imagine, and looking upon Man as one Whole made up of these two Parts, I think I see in him three general Principles of all his Actions, which constitute three different kinds of Life. I consider him as acting either by his mere natural Appetite, or by the Passions which Objects excite in him, or lastly, by Reason, which, as is pretended, distinguishes him from other living Creatures. These three Principles have been from the beginning

ning of the World, and are still to this Day, the Cause that there are three ways of living among Men.

The first, that of those Nations, which we call barbarous, who think of nothing but satisfying their natural Appetites, a Life commonly more innocent than ours. The second, that of almost all the World, who only study to gratify their Passions; one his Avarice, another his Ambition, and another his ardent Love of Pleasures. The third way is of those, who under the Title of Philosophers, or good Men, pretend to reform the two others by Reason: and these are a small Number, more proper for Contemplation than Action, and fitter to find fault with the World, than to amend it.

But this Diversity of Principles, which has introduc'd into the Life of Man these three principal Differences now mention'd, is in the Nature, not only of Man in general, but of every Man in particular; insomuch that there

6 MEMOIRS of

is not one, who does not think he acts daily in conformity with either his natural Appetites, or his Passions, or his Reason: and from thence proceeds that little Uniformity which is found in Life; and that we see Men, as a *French Poet* says,

Aujourd' huy dans un Casque, & demain dans un Froc.

To Day with a Sword, in a Surplice to Morrow.

Yielding up all sometimes to their Appetites, and to their Passions, and sometimes to Reason, which no longer deserves that Name, when once carry'd beyond its due bound; and which throws Man into Errors, as dangerous as his Passions can do. For which Cause we ought not to wonder at the Variety there is in the World; since that Sovereign Directress, which should reduce it to order, is often the very thing that spoils all by its Weakness and Uncertainty: So that it were to be

Be wish'd, that Men wou'd rather follow their first Motions, than their Reflections: for the Good wou'd do that which is good more surely; and the Wicked wou'd be sooner and more generally known.

There are three other less general Principles of that wond'rous Diversity which we see in the Thoughts, and consequently in the Life of Men, Temperament, Fortune, and Habit. Many pretend, that it is to our Temperament we ought to ascribe all our Actions, that therein are the true Sources of every one's Fortune, that Virtue it self has no other Foundation, and that that pretended Liberty, which we say we have, of doing good or ill, is but a *Chimera*. Judiciary Astrology seems to favour this Opinion: for if it be true, that after having well observ'd the Moment of any one's Nativity, an able Astrologer can foretel the whole Course of his Life; this can never be, but because certain Conjunctions of the Stars form a particu-

8 *MEMOIRS of*

lar Temperament, which determining Man to certain Actions, he who is perfectly acquainted with those Conjunctions, and their Influences, ought almost to divine what a Man will do, by what he is capable of doing, and thereby even foresee the Accidents which are to happen to him. But passing by this frivolous Science, and being also unwilling to deprive Man all at once of his Freedom of Will, let me only say, that if our Temperament does not do all, yet it has a share in every thing; that Men are amorous, brave, ambitious, virtuous, and even devout, every one according to his Temperament: and this is the Reason, that there are not two Persons, who have any of these Affections in the same Degree. Next as to Fortune, I believe there is no Man but has experienc'd in himself, that we think and act differently in good and in bad Fortune, in Wealth and in Poverty. From this alone I think we may conclude, that great Princes, Favourites, Ministers

Monsieur L. M. D. L. F. 9

sters of State, and Persons of the greatest Riches, are, if I may so speak, as it were of a different Nature from the rest of Mankind; and indeed no Man can have any Conversation with them, without perceiving it. It must be own'd too, that not only they, but all the rest of Mankind, take their way of Thinking from their Condition of Life. The Citizen and the Labourer, the Soldier and the Merchant, have all different Ideas of the same thing: and what one does without scruple, the other would not so much as have thought of for all the World. This Diversity of Sentiments goes yet farther: Every Profession and Art, the Physician and the Architect, the Joyner and the Shoemaker, have each the particular Spirit of his Profession; as the *Jesuite*, the *Augustin Frier*, and the *Cordelier*, have that of their Order: insomuch that a blind Man of good Sense, who shou'd hear and not see them, wou'd easily know which was which. There is another sort of

10 *MEMOIRS of*

Persons, who pretend to agree with all kinds of Minds, and enter into every one's Thoughts, as if they were their own. There are those we call Courtiers and Flatterers; by which I mean all those, who pretend to a more supple Spirit than others: but they are all coin'd in the same Mint, easily known, and the more contemptible, for that they have nothing true, and no Sentiments that are their own: a Herd of vile and insipid Assenters, much oftner copying ill things, than good.

These three Principles of the Diversity of Men's Thoughts and Actions, are reduc'd to Habit, a Principle which is deaf and slow, but certain. One may almost say, that every Man does always the same thing, to that degree, as not to be able to conceive how Men should act otherwise. I have seen Men make Love by the Clock, and always at the same Hour. Some ill things become agreeable by growing habitual: and as each Man looks up-
on

on every thing under different Circumstances, it is no wonder, they have different Thoughts. It is also owing to Habit, that Education has any Power to change Men; for they turn (to use that Expression) like manag'd Horses, to the side to which they are most accustomed. All that I have now said is so well known, that more need not be said about it.



CHAP. II.

A General View of the present Age: the Character and the Changes of it.

THESE Principles suppos'd, it is necessary, not only that Men in particular conduct themselves differently, but also that the Spirit and Character of every Age be different.

12 *MEMOIRS of*

from each other : for the resemblance there is between the Passions of Men, and the Events which they produce, does not hinder this difference. It were therefore to be wish'd, that in every Age there were disinterested Observers of the ways of acting in their Time, what Changes are made therein, and from what Causes : for thence we should have that Experience of every Age, whereof Men of a superior Genius might make advantage. It will be said, that History gives this Experience : but since it is fuller of Events, than of Reflections, and generally represents Men either perfectly handsom, or extreamly ugly ; since it very often speaks of Persons that have been little or not at all known to the Historian ; and for many different Considerations he judges it not proper to say what he thinks of them : for this reason History cannot give us that true and useful Experience I am enquiring after, and becomes only a Compilation of Facts rang'd according to the

the Order of Time; which cannot contribute to the drawing of that various and rational Picture of Human Life, which I design. I am very sensible, that I have not thoroughly known all the Men of my Time: but I will say at least with Truth and Freedom all that I think of those I have known. And I will begin by presenting the Reader with an *Idea* of the Spirit which has reign'd in *France* during the King's Life, and with the several Changes that have happen'd under this Reign.

For this purpose it will be necessary to look a little farther back, and observe, that the XVIth Century was an Age of Trouble and Division. The Royal Authority was often despis'd, and almost extinguish'd. The Intrigues of the Cabinet, the Wars of Religion, the Spirit of *Catharine de Medicis*, the frequent Change of the Kings, and of the Government, the Favour and great Places contested for between the Families of *Montmorency* and

14 *MEMOIRS of*

and *Guise*, gave occasion to a number of little Broils that were frequently renew'd, to many Intrigues, to extraordinary Cruelties, and to a great Abuse which Men of the first Rank made of their Authority. As there were many different ways for Men to make their Fortune, and Methods to render themselves considerable, personal Courage and Boldness were of great Use. This was the Age of great Virtues and great Vices, of great Actions and great Crimes, after that which was committed in the Person of *Henry* the III^d, had left to *Henry* the IVth, not a Throne which he had nothing more to do than to ascend, but a Crown which he was to win. During the Remainder of that Century he suffer'd the Experience of all that Rebellion could bring upon him.

It was at the Beginning of the XVIIth Century that he found himself in peaceable Possession of his Kingdom. Then also began that Spirit which reign'd to this Day. *Henry* IV. who
had

had seen with his own Eyes the Disorders of the preceding Century, and knew the Cause of them, was desirous to redress them. And the first thing he had in view, was to lessen the Power of the Nobility. But as there is no going from one Extreme to the other, without passing through the middle, he began by only not giving them any longer a Share in the Government, and in his Confidence, and he chose such as he thought faithful, and were of an inferior Rank.

Being devoted to the Will of the Prince, began to be a great Merit, and almost the only one: but as this Prince was young, good, and wise, he temper'd all things; insomuch that he died regretted and ador'd by his People.

Mary de Medicis, his Wife, did all in her Power to maintain the Royal Authority; and made use of the Marshal *d' Aucre*, an honest Man and liberal, as I have heard say by those who liv'd in that time. The Courtiers began

gan to submit to this Favourite; and though he had considerable Enemies, he owed his Ruin only to the growing Favour of young *Monsieur de Luynes*, who had insinuated himself into the good Graces of *Lewis* the XIIIth.

This Favourite, though without Experience in War or Civil Affairs, obtain'd the Place of Constable. He rais'd his Relations and Friends, and continued to depress the Nobility, who still were possess'd of very great Employments. After his Death *Lewis* the XIIIth, at the instance of the Queen his Mother, took into the Council Cardinal *Richelieu*, then Bishop of *Luçon*, who soon made himself the Head and Master of it. This Man being of a Spirit great and enterprising, undertook at the same time the fatal Depression of the Nobility, and of the House of *Austria*, and the Destruction of the *Protestants* in *France*. And if he did not attain the entire Execution of all his Designs, he gave them such Beginning, that we have since

since seen the Accomplishment of them. 'Twas then that all the Nation took the Spirit of Slavery : and the Contradictions which this Cardinal met with from the Queen his Benefactrix, from the late Duke of *Orleans*, the presumptive Heir of the Crown, from *Monsieur de Saint Mars*, and the others that were near the King, having serv'd him only to make his Resentments the more taken notice of, and depress every one greater than himself; he saw the whole Kingdom submitted to him. To say the Truth, however suspicious he was, either of the King's Authority, or of his own, which he thought inseparable from it, he lov'd and rewarded Virtue, wherever it was not against his Interest, and willingly employ'd Persons of Merit, which made Men endeavour to deserve well. Before he died he brought Cardinal *Mazarin*, a Foreigner, into the Council, a Man of very good Sense, who a little after the Death of *Lewis* the XIIIth, thro' the

the Friendship the Queen, *Anne* of *Austria*, had for him, became first Minister, and President of the Council during a long Minority. The Memory of that Persecution which Cardinal *Richelieu* had rais'd against the Queen, the Duke of *Orleans*, and all the greatest Men in the Kingdom, made every one of them think of taking the advantage of that Minority to recover their lost Power. The Duke of *Orleans*, who pretended to be the lawful Guardian of his Nephew; the Prince of *Condé*, then Duke of *Anguén*, who had lately won the Battle of *Rocroy*; the Duke of *Beaufort*, who was very well with the Queen Regent; the Bishop of *Beauvais*, the Duke of *Rochefoucault*, a Creature of the Queen's, and *Madam de Chevreuse*, who was esteem'd most in her Favour: All these being desirous to make good their Pretensions, and many others joining with them, and conceiving great Hopes from the Assistance of those now mentioned; it was
not

not possible, but that many Divisions should arise from this Situation of Affairs, and the Royal Authority suffer a great Diminution during the long Minority of a young King, and the Regency of an obstinate Queen-Mother, resolv'd to support a Stranger in defiance of the Parliaments and Princes, and almost of the whole Kingdom. The time therefore of this Regency was a time of Licentiousness, of intrigues of Court, and of great Gallantry: for the Queen her self was Gallant, and the Ladies had a great Share in the Affairs of State. It also happen'd, that the War which we had abroad with the *Spaniard*, and the Civil War at Home, form'd good Officers, and that the Art of War, which had been brought to Perfection by the Great *Gustavus* King of *Sweden*, was after his Death convey'd to us by his Generals, and particularly by the Duke of *Weymar*, of whom *Monsieur de Turenne* learn'd it. The Prince of *Condè* on his Side, having begun the
War

20 *MEMOIRS of*

War with *Gassion*, who had serv'd under *Gustavus*, and being otherwise of an admirable *Genius*, perfected himself in *Germany* in the *Campaigns* he made under him with *Monsieur de Turenne*, against the Counts of *Mercy* and *Tilly*, the most able Generals which the Emperor then had. But what is most worthy to be observ'd, is, that all the Kingdom was divided into Soldiers and Courtiers, and that while the former were in the Field, the latter made War in the Council, all but the Chief, and some others under them, who were of both Professions. It is easy to conceive, by what means every one was able by his Industry to contribute to his own Fortune, and that of others. Insomuch that those that I have known, who lived at that time, were for the most part Men of an Ambition, that discover'd itself at first Sight, impatiently desirous to enter into Intrigues, artificial in their Discourse, and all this with good Sense and great Courage. I shall
now

now say how things chang'd by little and little.

After that Cardinal *Mazarin*, a Man of a Genius subtle and artificial, whom his Passions never turn'd from pursuing his Interest, had made use of his own Ability, and the Queen's Resolution, together with what was left of the King's Authority, to drive the Prince of *Condè* out of *France*, and to put an End to the Civil War by the help of *Monsieur de Turenne*, the greatest Commander of his Time, he employ'd this same General in the War abroad, and by this means saw himself, in a few *Campaigns*, the Terror not only of his own private Enemies, but of those of the State. For some Years this Cardinal enjoy'd the Fruit of his Labours, that is to say, an Authority which receiv'd no contradiction: for although the King was arriv'd at an Age, in which he was capable of taking Cognizance of his Affairs; yet the Obligations he had to the Cardinal, the habitual Submission

sion to his Will, which he had contracted from his Childhood, and his own natural Timidity, hindred him from meddling in Affairs of State during the Cardinal's Life ; and although it has been said above, that the King began to be weary of him, I doubt he would have been a long time shaking off this Yoke. During the last Years of the Cardinal's Ministry, the Courtiers were entirely subject to him: but as he had had occasion for Men of every Sort, he manag'd the Soldiers as well as them, the best he could. He promis'd much, and perform'd nothing, and govern'd Men more by Hope than Fear. He yeilded to many things from being threatned. In short, he was a Man that having too great an Authority, impos'd too much upon Mankind. For the rest, he had Friends with whom he lived familiarly: he introduc'd Pleasures and Gaming, and thereby soften'd the Peoples Courage. Above all, as he had formerly been very much perplex'd for want of Money,

ney, when he went out of *France*; he study'd nothing now but to fill his Coffers, and made a kind of Traffick of all the Places of Trust in the Kingdom. In one word, he did nothing without Money. On the other side *Monsieur Fouquet*, Superintendent of the Treasury, aiming to get himself one Day into the chief Place, and also through Distrust of the Cardinal, with whom Abbot *Fouquet*, his Brother, had fallen out, thought of nothing but making himself Creatures, and scatter'd a great deal of Money in the Court. This brought Magnificence and Joy into it: the old and most considerable Courtiers thought of nothing but how to preserve themselves in the Familiarity and good Graces of the Cardinal, which distinguish'd them considerably; and the young studied only how to divert themselves, and enjoy the Favours of *Monsieur Fouquet*: some kept close to the young King, and found their account in it afterwards.

The

The Marriage, and the Peace were at length concluded at the same time. The Duke of *Orleans*, the King's Uncle, died. The Duke, his Majesties Brother, married the Princess *Henrietta* of *England*. The Court return'd to *Paris*, where a magnificent Entry was made for the Queen; and in the Spring following, the Cardinal died at *Vincennes*, with all the Resolution imaginable, leaving a vast Estate, and a great Reputation. Thus far I have spoke by hearsay: I shall now relate what I have seen my self.

Lewis the XIVth being about twenty three Years of Age, apply'd himself to Affairs of State with great Earnestness; and as the Cardinal in his latter Days had particularly caution'd him against the Familiarity of the *French*, and had not spoke to him, but to support his Authority, he was jealous of it to an excess, and began to be less communicative. However, his Youth, his graceful Mein, his new Amours, and above all the Plenty which still reign'd

reign'd every where, join'd to the publick Shews and Festivals, made the Court at *Fontaine Bleau*, during the Summer 1661, appear more gay and splendid than ever: and as in the beginning of a Government every one is full of hope, which is the most agreeable of all the Passions, there was nothing but perpetual Feasting, Gaming, and taking the Air, when a young King, after having chosen a Mistress worthy of him, began to enjoy his Liberty and Royalty; for 'till then he had never known what either of them was.

The Ruin of *Monsieur Fouquet*, Superintendent of the Treasury, had been resolv'd upon, as it is thought, by Cardinal *Mazarin*; but not with the Consent of the Queen Mother, by whom at last he was given up to his Enemies, at the instance of *Madame de Chevreuse*, join'd in interest with *Monsieur Colbert*; who after having had the whole Direction of the Cardinal's Affairs, and his entire Confidence,

C

dence, had been long design'd by this Minister to be employ'd in reforming the Treasury. This Affair was manag'd on the King's side with Secrecy and Dissimulation. He caress'd *Monsieur Fouquet* very much, and under pretence that that Gentleman had considerable Alliances, and that he had fortified *Belle-Isle* upon the Coast of *Bretagne*, the King went himself to *Nantes* to have him secur'd there, concluding that his Royal Presence wou'd prevent any one's rising to rescue this Minister: a thing that appear'd childish to Men of Sense; but which flatter'd the King with the Thought, that he shou'd thereby gain the Reputation of a resolute, prudent, and cunning Prince. *Monsieur Fouquet*, under the Apprehension he had of the Cardinal, had had a mind to put himself into a Condition to resist him by making himself Friends: and as he was naturally very sanguine, he thought he had a much greater Number than he really had. He made a List of them

Ha

Half the Court were found upon his Papers, and were for some time under a great Consternation. On the other side the Men of Business clearly foresaw the Storm which was going to break upon them. Some were taken into Custody at the same time with *Monsieur Fouquet*, others made their Escape, particularly *Monsieur Gourville*, the ablest of all his Confidants, who found means to conceal a very great Treasure, and retire into *Flanders*. The Imprisonment was follow'd by erecting a Chamber of Justice. The Prisons were full of Criminals and innocent Persons. It appear'd that every one's Estate was aim'd at. *Monsieur Colbert* being perswaded that the King was absolute Master of the Lives, and all the Estates of his Subjects, made him go one Day to the Parliament, to declare himself the first Creditor of all those who were in his Majesty's Debt. The Parliament had not the Liberty to examine these Edicts. It was said, that for the future they wou'd begin

C 2

with

with verifying those whom the King shou'd send to them; and that afterwards they might make their Remonstrances: Which Privilege in the Sequel was again taken away from them. One may imagine the Sorrow, Fear, and Dejection, which all these things occasion'd in the Publick; and here began that prodigious Authority of the King, unheard of to that time, which after having been the Cause of great Good, and great Evil, is come to such an Excess, that it is now a Charge to it self. We may say then, that the Spirit of all this Age has been, on the part of the Court and the Ministers, a continual Design to raise the Royal Authority to such a pitch, as to render it Despotick; and on the part of the People, a perfect Patience and Submission, if you except some particular Persons during the Regency.

To this Jealousy of his Authority the King join'd that of his Government. He was afraid above all things, that because he had been govern'd, it shou'd

shou'd be thought he was so still; and by that means his three Ministers *Monsieur de Tellier*, *Monsieur Colbert*, and the Count *de Lionne*, by always telling him he did all, and that he was the Master, remov'd from him both those who had serv'd him well, and those who were capable of so doing. As he spake to none but them, they brought him to do every thing which they pleas'd; what with granting a Favour to one of them to Day, to another to Morrow, and doing what was desir'd by all three, when they were pleas'd to be of a Mind.

The Marshals *Villeroy*, *Grammont*, and *Clairembault*, and *Monsieur de Turenne*, with all whom the Cardinal us'd to communicate Affairs of Importance, were now no more consulted: The Duke of *Orleans*, young and handsome, and who studied nothing but his Pleasures, was accounted as nothing: The Queen Mother herself had soon no farther Share in the Management of Affairs. The King lived

C 3

coldly

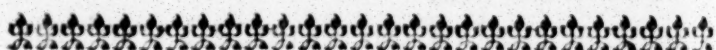
coldly with her, and she often repented her Consent to the Ruin of *Monsieur Fouquet*. As for the Prince of *Condé*, who was since restor'd to the King's Favour, and had many things to expiate, he did not dare to speak the least Word; besides that he was carry'd by his own natural Disposition to an excessive Compliance with the Court. This Submission of the chief Heads of the State, as may be well imagin'd, drew that of all the rest of the Nation; and the habitual Disposition to Slavery still augmenting, it arriv'd at last at the same Excess with the Authority.

It must be own'd, that in these last Years, this despotick Authority of the King, and the perfect Submission of the Subjects, have much contributed to maintain the War, which *France* has had with so many Enemies: But it had not had this War, but for the continual Abuse of this Authority, made by the King and his Ministers: For, to use that Expression, they were
intox-

intoxicated with it to such a Degree, that they were for exercising it over all *Europe*, and had no farther regard for either Faith or Treaty; and, with respect to the Kingdom at home, imagining they were able to do every thing, they believ'd it wou'd be in their Power actually to convert Millions of *Protestants* in six Months, by Methods unworthy both of the Holiness, and of the Humanity of our Religion; which made Foreigners conceive, that all the Orders of the Kingdom being otherwise oppressed and discontented, they, by uniting all together in a Confederacy, might easily carry the War into the Heart of the State, and render their Condition better than it was. That if they have not done ill, they have at least occasion'd fear enough, to obtain part of what they desir'd: For it must be acknowledg'd, that notwithstanding the Ambition of being the Masters, and the insupportable Pride, which continual Prosperity has wrought in us, one of

32 *MEMOIRS of*

the Characters of the *French* in this Age, has been Timidity; without which, notwithstanding our ill Conduct, and the Leagues of so many Enemies, we were still the Masters of the World; so much Force and Valour has the *French* Nation preserv'd, in the midst of the Baseness of their Slavery.



C H A P. III.

Some Reflections on what has been said: And what happen'd to me from the End of the Year 1662, to the Death of the Queen Mother on the 20th of January 1666.

IT is easy to collect, from what I have been saying, first, That what has carried the Royal Authority to the Pitch, where it now is, is the Diminution

nution it had suffer'd in the preceeding Century, and the Disorder of the Civil War; just as the Abuse that is, and is like to be made of this Authority, will hereafter produce new Disorders on the first Occasion: For, as *Horace* says,

Dum stulti vitant vitia, in contraria currunt.

While Fools avoid one Extreme, they fall into another.

And this is so true, that I remember to have heard it said by the Duke of *Rochefoucault*, he who had been one of the principal Actors of the last Civil War, That it was impossible, that a Man, who had tasted of it, as he had, wou'd ever engage in it, there was so much Trouble, and such Extremities to be suffer'd by the Subject who made war against his King: But the *Ideas* of these Troubles wearing by degrees out of Men's Minds, and making little Impressions upon those

34 *MEMOIRS of*

who have never experienc'd them; the same Passions, and the same Occasions, engage Men again in the same Inconveniences. It may be observ'd in the second place, that as there is nothing under Heaven, but what is subject to some Imperfection, this absolute Authority, which on one side causes the Grandeur and Felicity of the Prince, and contributes to the Support of the State, does often occasion on the other side, the Misery of the People, the Destruction of the noblest Subjects, and even of the Nation it self, in proportion, as it weakens and enervates that very State. For despotick Power ill suits with great Talents, and great Virtues; blind Submission, which is not the Property of great *Genius's*, becoming then the principal Quality, that contributes to make Men's Fortune. Accordingly, tho' for these last thirty Years there have been great things done in this Kingdom, yet no great Men have been made either for the War, or the Ministry.

nistry. Not that natural Talents have been wanting in the Nation, but that the Court has neither acknowleg'd, nor employ'd them, nor ever valued it self upon the Choice of those, who had the Approbation of the Publick; but on the contrary, has made Choice of those who are most unfit. I should not want a Multitude of Examples to prove the Truth of what I say; but they will come hereafter in their Order. I shall at present continue the Relation of the principal Passages from the Death of the Queen Mother, to the Conclusion of the Peace. But before I proceed to the Recital of general things, as I am willing to leave an Account of my own Life, as well as of that of others, I shall relate what has happen'd to me so much the more willingly, as there being nothing very considerable in it, I cannot be accus'd of Vanity.

I enter'd into Business at eighteen Years of Age, and was presented to the King in *December, 1662.* the
C 6 Year

36 *MEMOIRS of*

Year after the *Dauphin* was born, and in which his Majesty, in the Month of *January*, made the first Promotion of Knights of the Order. My Person, which was not disagreeable, though I was not of the first Form of handsome Men, my Behaviour, my Humour, and my Temper, which was sweet, made a Composition agreeable enough, and few at their first coming into the World have been better receiv'd. Hereto contributed the Friendship which *Madame de Montausier* shew'd me, on account of that she had for my Father, a Man of Merit, whose Reputation was not yet forgot. I may venture to say, that the King had rather an Inclination, than any Aversion to me: But I found afterwards, that this Impression was not deep, though I acknowledge sincerely, that I contributed my self to efface it. However it was, I had then without trouble and without asking, all the little Distinctions, and Marks of Favour, which others would not have had, even with asking

asking for them. In the Year 1663, the King took a Journey to *Marseille*, which had the Air, if not the reality, of a War. He return'd with the Diligence which became a Lover. He spent part of the Autumn at *Vincennes*, where he danced at a Ball, in which I bore a part, with most of the Courtiers. In 1664, he sent the Emperor an Aid of six thousand Men, four thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, of which *Monsieur Coligni*, who had lately quitted the Prince of *Condé's* Service, had the Command, in quality of *Lieutenant General*, and *Monsieur de la Feuillade* under him, as *Marthal de Camp*. I was one of the first, and, I believe, the very first, who as early as the Month of *March*, thought fit to ask the King's leave to go thither a *Voluntier*; and I hasten'd to do it, because I was oblig'd to go to my House in *Languedoc*, whence it was shorter and easier to pass into *Germany* by *Lyons* and *Switzerland*, as I did. Being come to *Donawert*
upon

38 MEMOIRS of

upon the *Danube*, I found two hundred Volunteers of the first Quality, who were going to make the same *Campagne* with extraordinary Magnificence. I will say nothing of the Battle of *St. Godard*, where the King's Troops distinguish'd themselves; after which the Peace being made between the *Turk* and the Emperor, we return'd all to *Vienna*, in our way to *France*, some thro' *Germany*, others, who had a mind to see the Countrey, thro' *Italy*. I was unhappily detain'd at *Vienna* by two Wounds receiv'd in a Duel, in which I was Second to one, against another of my Relations, who fought upon a Quarrel descended to them from their Fathers. As soon as I was cured, I enter'd upon my Journey, and by the Gulph of *Trieste* came strait to *Venice*, and from thence to my own Estate in *Languedoc*, not without uneasiness, being uncertain how the Court had relented our Duel; for the Laws against Duels were more regularly observ'd than ever. I learn'd
with

with pleasure, that the Informations which I had sent, had had the Success which I desir'd; that the Matter was not look'd upon as a Duel in regard to me, and that I might return to Court. The Marshals *Villeroy* and *Grammont*, and *Madame de Montausier*, were serviceable to me on this Occasion. I came to Court with leave, in the Month of *April* 1665. At the end of this Year the King forming a Company of *Gens d'Armes* for the *Dauphin*, who had one already of Light Horse, made Choice of me, among all the Nobility of the Court, to be the *Guidon*. I own that I was never so pleas'd, and that I thought my self in favour; but I soon perceiv'd that I was mistaken. After having thank'd the King, I paid my Acknowledgments to the Queen Mother: for tho' she had no part in any thing, she was thank'd for every thing. She died a little after, on the 20th of *January* 1666.



CHAP. IV.

*The King's Amours till the Death
of the Queen-Mother, the Dis-
grace of the Count de Guiche,
of the Countess of Soissons, and
of the Marquis de Vardes,
and the Creation of New
Dukes.*

I must here repeat, that what I write is no History (for I know what Exactness that requires) but only a Series of the most considerable Facts, with such Reflections as are proper to give an *Idea* of this Time, and to draw as it were a Picture of what I have seen, and of the Life of those Men whom I have known. Before I go any farther, I must say one Word

of the King's Amours ; for the Account of them is not one of the least Parts of his History, nor from which his Character is least known. *Mademoiselle de la Valiere* was not his Majesty's first Inclination. That Honour was bestow'd on *Mademoiselle Beauvais*, the first Bed-chamber Woman and Favourite of the Queen his Mother, though she was old, and had but one Eye.

He had been in Love with *Mary de Mancini*, Niece to the Cardinal *Mazarin*, and had married her, if the Cardinal would have consented ; which he refus'd, either through Fear or Virtue, and married her to the Constable *Colonna*. His Majesty had afterwards a very great Affection for *Mademoiselle de la Mothe-Houdancourt*, a young Lady of *Languedoc*, one of the most beautiful of the Queen's Maids of Honour, and the best Dancer of her Time. She was betray'd by her Confidants, *Roussereau* and *Chamarante*, both Emissaries of the Cardinal, who
knowing

42 *MEMOIRS of*

knowing from them all that the King said to this Lady, told it him again the next moment, pretending to know it by other Methods, and gave his Majesty to understand, that she must have some other affair: And indeed, observing the King's Coldness to her, she entertain'd a violent Passion for the *Marquis de Richelieu*. And this brought her at last into the Convent of the Nuns of *St. Mary of Chaillot*, where she spent her Life without taking upon her the Profession, after having bestow'd upon the Convent Twenty Thousand Crowns which the King gave her. His Majesty had afterwards a great Commerce with *Olympia de Mancini* Countess of *Soissons*, whom he visited every Day, even after that he had fallen in Love with *Mademoiselle de la Valiere*. Nor did this Commerce cease, till she was banish'd the Court for some Intrigues, of which I shall now give an Account.

To understand this better, you must know, that *Mademoiselle de la Valiere*

liere was Maid of Honour to the Dutchess of *Orleans*, and that at the beginning of his Majesty's Affection for her, the Dutchess being ambitious and *coquette*, imagin'd that it was her self, for whom the King had that Inclination. Though I am very well persuaded, that her Highness would never have consented to an Overture of that Nature, it is certain that the thought of it pleas'd her, and gave some Uneasiness to the Queen-Mother. When therefore the Dutchess perceiv'd, that she had but a small part in the King's frequent Visits, and that she only serv'd, as I may say, for a pretence to *Mademoiselle de la Valiere*, she conceiv'd a very great Spite against both him and her, and to give vent to her Resentment, she gave a favourable Ear to the Count *de Guiche*, eldest Son of the Count Marshal *Grammont*, a handsom young Man, who with much Sense and Courage, had more Boldness. At the same time the Countess of *Soissons*, who saw the King taken with
La

44 *MEMOIRS of*

La Valiere's Charms, furrender'd herself to the Passion of the *Marquis de Vardes*, who was not in the Flower of his Youth, but was more amiable for his Wit, his insinuating Behaviour, and even for his Person, than all the young Men. It was thought, that it was by the King's Order, that he address'd to the Countess, and that his Majesty was his Confident. What is certain is, that this able Courtier did what he did, more through Ambition than Love, and was as much concern'd, as the Countess and the Dutchess of *Orleans*, when he saw *Mademoiselle de la Valiere* wholly possess'd of the King. These four Persons therefore, to wit, the Dutchess of *Orleans*, the Count *de Guiche*, as a young Fool through Complaisance to her, the Countess of *Soissons*, and the *Marquis de Vardes*, form'd a Design to ruin *La Valiere*, that they might remain the sole Rulers of the Court. They imagin'd, that if by any means the young Queen might be appriz'd
of

of the King's Familiarity with *La Valiere*, she would declare loudly against it, and make the Queen Mother do so too; so that the King would be under an indispensable Necessity of quitting his Mistress. Upon this they wrote a Letter, as from the King of *Spain* to his Daughter, to acquaint her with the King's Amours. This Letter was drawn up by the *Marquis de Vardes*, and translated into *Spanish* by the Count *de Guiche*, who valued himself upon understanding the Languages. For the *Spanish*, it is certain he understood it. The Letter came safe, without any one's suspecting at that time from what hand it came. The young Queen, who loved her Husband passionately, and so much the more, for that his Majesty had had a real Affection for her the first Year of his Marriage, was overwhelm'd with Grief. The Queen-Mother took her part. This gave the King a great deal of Uneasiness and Disquiet, but did not oblige him to abandon his Mistress. All his

his ill Humour fell upon those, who had had the Boldness to attack him in so sensible a part. However far from suspecting from whence it came, he called the *Marquis de Vardes*, for whom he had a particular Inclination, and consulted with him, who it could be, that had dar'd thus to offend him. *De Vardes*, with equal Address and Malice, turn'd the Suspicion upon *Madame de Navailles*, one of the Queen's Ladies of Honour, whose austere Humour had lately disgusted the King, when she had caused all the Avenues from the Maids of Honour to be fenced with Iron Rails, to hinder his Majesty from going to see *Mademoiselle de la Mothe-Houdancourt*, for whom he had had some Inclination, and this at the instance of the Countess of *Soissons*, who was always contriving to get rid of *La Valiere*. *Madame de Navailles* and her Husband were banish'd the Court, without any reason given. *Madame de Montausieur*, Governante of the King's Children,

Children, was made Lady of Honour to the Queen, and *Mademoiselle de la Motte*, Governante in her room. It was a considerable time, before the King could find out, do all he could, from whom the Queen receiv'd the Information, that had been given her. During this time the *Marquis de Vardes* was still the Person at Court the most in his Master's Favour, and whose Approbation he most valued. It fell out, to his Misfortune, that the Count *de Guiche* having been banish'd the Court on the Account of the Dutchess of *Orleans*, that Princess form'd a Design against *De Vardes*, to oblige him to abandon the Countess of *Soissons*. This Lady found means to preserve her Gallant, and flush'd with the Success, one Day at the Ball said some things, in discoursing upon that Subject, which enrag'd the Dutchess. The Quarrel encreas'd. *De Vardes*, to please the Countess, was guilty of an Imprudence, not to be pardon'd to a Man of his Age, which was, that finding
the

the *Chevalier de Lorraine*, a Favourite of the Duke of Orleans, in the Company of *Mademoiselle de Fien-nes*, the Dutchess's Daughter, he said to him with an Air of Jeering, *What, Sir, a Prince made like you, amuse himself with Abigals? The Mistresses are not too good for you.* This saying, which the *Chevalier de Lorraine* told his Friend the *Marquis de Villeroy*, and which was possibly heard by others, came soon to the Dutchess's Ear. Her Highness complain'd of it to the King, and *De Vardes* was sent to the *Bastile*. It was imagin'd at first, that it might be only for some Days: but his Enemies having exasperated the Dutchess against him, she discover'd the Secret of the *Spanish Letter*, which they had concerted together. The King was so much the more provok'd, as he saw himself betray'd by those, whom he had most loved, the Countess of *Soissons* and *De Vardes*. He sent the latter into a Dungeon of the Citadel of *Montpellier*, and banish'd the

the Countefs to the Government of *Champagne*, which was under her Husband. If it had not been for this Misfortune, *de Vardes* might have hoped to be made a Duke and Peer with Fourteen others, whom the King promoted to that Honour, and whose Number was soon augmented by four more. The Duke of St. *Aignan* was one of the first fourteen: He was the Confident of the King's Amours. But for any thing else a mere *Don Quixot*; for one day he caus'd the Parliament and all *France* to afsemble, to register a Pardon, which he had obtain'd, for having many Years before, himfelf alone, killed five Men. Infomuch that a Counfeller of the great Chamber, whose Opinion was ask'd, made no other Answer but this: *This Gigantick Act is certainly miraculous.* This Addition to the Number of Dukes was extraordinary, and as more were made, verified the Jelt of Cardinal *Mazarin*, who being importun'd by many for Dukes Patents, faid one Day,

D Well!

50 MEMOIRS of

Well! I will make so many, that it shall be ridiculous to be a Duke, and ridiculous not to be one. All this happen'd before the Death of the Queen-Mother: Let us see what has come to pass since.



CHAP. V.

The principal Passages from the Queen-Mother's Death to the second Year of the Dutch War

THE Death of *Anne of Austria* Mother of the King, made no Change in Affairs of State, with which she had not meddled of late; but made a very great one in the Court which from that Day began to change its appearance. This Princess, who had known every body, and had had Occasion for them, was perfectly appriz'd of the Quality and Merit of every one, and pleas'd her self in distinguishing

stinguishing them: haughty and polite at the same time, she understood what is call'd keeping a Court, better than any Person whatever: and although she was strictly virtuous, yet she permitted with Pleasure that Air of Gallantry, which must be there, to render the Court agreeable, and maintain that Politeness in it, which at that time was esteem'd by all, but is since become useless, and perhaps even ridiculous. It may be said, that the Manners of Men and Women are entirely chang'd. When I say, the Manners, I mean the ways of Acting; since as to any thing else, the same Passions have in all Times produc'd the same Effects: but it is certain by Experience, that when the Women appear'd to have more Respect for themselves, than at present, others also had more respect for them. The most debauch'd young Man did not drink every Day till he was drunk; and when he was so, he went to Bed. Men were tenderer of jesting upon

one another, than they are now. Good Company was more separate from bad. At their first coming into the World, Men had more regard for such as had got any thing, and were not so easily admitted into all Sorts of Company. As there was no greater Merit, than for any one to make his Court diligently to the King, and he from the Day of the Queen-Mother's Death spending almost all his Time in the Country, the Civility and Politeness of the Cities, withdrew by little and little from the Court, to which two things very much contributed: One, that the King neither was willing, nor knew how to make that Distinction between Men which is fit: the other, that being of a Humour naturally pedantick and austere, he put the Women insensibly upon a foot of not daring to speak to Men in publick. Without making them more modest, he made them less polite; and because Nature will not lose her Rights, at last he made them impudent. His Ministers

sters on one hand, being Persons of mean Birth, to keep all Men from any Share in the publick Management, persuaded his Majesty, that he could not make any Distinction between the Courtiers, without rendring himself liable to a thousand Illconveniencies, and weakening his Authority. And his Mistresses on the other hand, blasted the Reputation of all other Women, to raise their own, and would not allow them the least Regard, while themselves were not asham'd to let their own Children appear publickly. These Ladies however had an ill Grace in recommending their own Fidelity to the King: for he kept them lock'd up, and no Man dar'd look on them. After this Digression, let us continue our Story.

The King, though *Mademoiselle de la Valiere* was still the *Sultane* Regent, had a mind notwithstanding to the Princess of *Monaco*, Marshal *Grammont's* Daughter, whose good Graces her Cousin *Peguillain*, famous

54 MEMOIRS of

since by the Name of the Count (now Duke) of *Lauzun*, had, before her Marriage, and he lodg'd in the House with her, at the *Hôtel de Grammont*, where the Marshal treated him as one of his own Children. He was still very much in Love with her, and already in the King's Favour, to whom he spake concerning the Princess of *Monaco*, with so much Haughtiness and Pride, that he was imprison'd in the *Bastile*: But that which might have ruin'd him, was the making of his Fortune. The King, who car'd but little for the Princess of *Monaco*, did at that time conceive so great an Opinion of *Monsieur Peguillain*, that he rais'd him to what we shall see in the Sequel. It is true, that this Gentleman let his Beard grow in the Prison, and as he was an excellent Comedian, yet unknown, he persuaded the King of his Despair, and at the same time of his Passion for his Majesty. While the King employ'd some Thoughts about the Princess of *Monaco*,

naco, *Madame de Montespan* began to have an Inclination to him, and had the Address to do two things at the same time, one to give the Queen an extraordinary Opinion of her Virtue, by communicating every Week in her Presence, the other to insinuate her self to that degree into the good Graces of *Mademoiselle de la Valiere*, that she never left her: Infomuch that she passed her Life with the King, and did what she could to please him, in which it was not difficult for her to succeed with a great deal of Wit, being with *La Valiere*, who had but little. The Summer of the Year 1666, passed thus at *Fontainebleau*. The Count *de St. Pol*, a younger Son of the Duke of *Longueville*, there made his first Entrance into the Court, after his Return from his Travels, a young Prince of great Wit, and at the Age of Seventeen, ripe, judicious, and capable of any thing, as much as if he had been Thirty. He was stricken with the Beauty and Wit of *Madame*

56 *MEMOIRS of*

de Montespan, as were many others, into which Number I very unadvisedly put my self: For this Woman, to shew the Queen her good Conduct, and persuade the King, that she minded none but him, continually at the Queen's *Coucher*, where the King was, made Sport with her Lovers, and repeated what every one of us had said to her. I was told of it, and imagining that I saw the King had some Design upon her, I soon made my retreat, and in good Order: all the rest did the same. The Winter following was plain to all the World, that she would obtain what she had long pursued. The Count *de Lauzun* took part in her Affairs: and Scandal says, that *Madame de Montausieur* enter'd into them. However that be, the King's Passion for her discover'd it self openly in the Journey which the Queen made into *Flanders* in the Year 1667.

After having spoke of Love, it is time to speak of War. This War being

ing grounded upon the the Rights of the Queen, was undertaken with moderate Forces; but the Weakness of the Enemy was the Cause, that the King took a great many Towns, and had taken more, if he had not twice interrupted his Conquests, to go and see the Queen, or rather *Madame de Montespan*. *Monsieur Turenne*, General of the King's Army, seeing this young Prince so exact and industrious in all the Functions of a Soldier, imagin'd he might inspire into his Majesty, the same Passion for that Profession, which he had himself; and that thereby rend'ring himself Master of his Inclination, he might make the Ministry repent of the little Consideration they had had for him. With this View he treated them haughtily enough, as he did likewise the oldest Courtiers, Persons, to say the truth, unworthy for the most part, that any great Regard shou'd be had to them. However, he ought, no doubt, to have been more tender of both: For this was the Cause, that

the King having taken the *Franche Comté* the Winter following, the Ministry hasten'd in the Spring to conclude the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, by which that Province was restor'd to the *Spaniards*, and they left us almost all the Towns we had taken in *Flanders*. That which authoriz'd the Ministry to resolve upon the Peace, was the Alliance made against us by *Holland, England* and *Sweden*, who yet were not in a Condition to hinder us from making great Conquests, and probably from taking *Flanders*: Upon which it may be observ'd, that during the late Times it has always look'd, as if we made War only thro' Humour, and for no solid Reasons, and that we concluded the Peace, when we were weary of the War, without any thing to oblige us thereto: Which is the Reason, that after a great many Battels won, and Towns taken, *France*, without any reverse Fortune, is almost in the same Condition, as when we began the War, except that we are
more

more drain'd, and have more Enemies in league against us. The Leisure attending the Peace left room for the King's Amours, and the Passion he had for Buildings and Waterworks. He was at a prodigious Expence to bring Water to *Versailles*, where there was none at all. He often undid what he had done, and the People had no ease from Taxes during the Peace, which continued only to the Year 1672.

The War therefore was renew'd, and had no other Aim but to humble the States of *Holland*, whose *Gazetteer* had been too insolent; nor any other Ground, but the Ambition which *Monsieur Louvois* (Secretary of State for the War, and Son of *Monsieur de Tellier*) had, to make himself considerable, and embarrass *Colbert*, who was an Enemy to them both, by obliging him to furnish immense Sums. This War was at first undertaken in concert with *Charles* the II^d. King of *England*, who had a mind to humble the *Dutch*, and had more reason for

60 MEMOIRS of

it than we; for he attack'd the natural Enemies of the Trade of *England*, whereas we attack'd those, whose Trade and Alliance was advantageous to us.

To enable us to march our numerous Armies as far as *Holland*, we were oblig'd to have Magazines upon the *Low Rhine*. For this Purpose it was necessary to gain the Elector of *Cologne*, which was done by the Assistance of *Monsieur de Furstemberg*, Bishop of *Strasbourg*, who govern'd that Prince. Much Money was given to that Bishop. The Count *de Chamilly*, who had long serv'd the Prince of *Condé*, and was at that time Lieutenant General of the King's Forces, a Man of great Courage, good Sense, and immoderate Ambition, was entrusted with the Negotiation; and acquitted himself so well, that it was concluded in a little time: but to please the Minister, he wrote to the King, that there was no Man but *Monsieur Louvois* himself, who could put the last Hand

to it. This Minister set out for *Cologne*, sure of the Success of the Affair, and had the Pleasure almost as soon as he arriv'd, to sign the Treaty, by which the Elector of *Cologne* deliver'd up to the King *Nuys* and *Keyferswert*, where there were great Magazines already made, and gave Winter Quarters to the *Gens d'Armes*, and to some of the light Horse. I went therefore with the *Dauphin's* Company of *Gens d'Armes*, the Winter of 1671, and 1672, into Quarters near *Cologne*, whence we often went to that City. I made a particular Acquaintance with the *Marquis de Grana*, the Emperor's Minister there, and *Monseigneur Bonvisi*, the Pope's Nuncio, who has since been Cardinal, two Men of as great Sense, as ever I met with, who soon after rais'd us many Enemies. The *Marquis de Grana*, since Governour of the *Low-Countries*, had a mind to be himself the Witness of our first Exploits.

In the Spring the King attack'd four
Places

62 MEMOIRS of

Places at the same time, and took them all in eight Days. Terror seiz'd the Enemies Troops, compos'd of good Soldiers enough, but commanded by Officers, who had never seen any thing, and were, for the most part, Sons or Relations of the Burgomasters of the Towns of *Holland*.

After these first Conquests, the King march'd streight to *Lysle* with the Army which was commanded by the Prince of *Condé*, and left his own to *Monsieur Turenne*, who was three Leagues behind him. Ill Fortune wou'd have it, that the Count *de Guiche*, Lieutenant General, who lov'd any thing that was extraordinary, and had seen the *Tartars* swim over Rivers in *Poland*, propos'd to pass the *Rhine* the same way at *Tolhuis*: He affirm'd the River was fordable, where it was not: Some few were drown'd; and others kill'd in the Passage, by the Squadrons that were on the other side. The Duke of *Bourbon* and *Monsieur de Longueville*, after they had pass'd the

the River, advanc'd, and finding the Enemy, drew on the Prince of *Condé*, who follow'd them with a few Men. This was the Cause, that having push'd some Squadrons, these great Men, and many others, came to a Barrier defended by a Battalion, who were immediately going to throw down their Arms; but somebody crying out, *No Quarter*; they made their Discharge to so good purpose, that *Monsieur de Longueville* was kill'd, *Monsieur de Marillac* wounded, as also the Prince himself. Before this *Nogent*, *Guitry*, *Bronilly*, *Thaulon*, and some others were kill'd, and the Counts *de la Salle*, *de Saulx*, *Revel*, and *du Mesnil*, wounded, almost all of them Volunteers on this Occasion. Though our Men effected what they desir'd, which was to get into the Isle of *Betaw*, yet the Prince's being wounded disconcerted the Projects of the rest of that Campaign. *Monsieur Turenne* put himself at the Head of the Army in the room of the Prince of *Condé*, and march'd.

march'd directly to *Arnhem*, which surrender'd, tho' we had not pass'd the River. The Count *du Plessis* was kill'd there by a Canon Ball. The *Marquis de Rochefort* was detach'd to go immediately and sieze *Muyden*, and make himself Master of the Sluices. If he had done that, *Holland* had been lost: for they thought of nothing at *Amsterdam*, but to carry their Keys to the King. But this General, tho' brave enough, was fearful of Events; and using too much Precaution, did not march with Diligence enough, but suffer'd some Troops to throw themselves into *Muyden*, who open'd the Sluces, and overflowing the Countrey, preserv'd it. Failing of this Attempt, *Monsieur Turenne* took *Nimeguen* and *Schenkinsconce*. The King took *Doesbourg*; and the Duke of *Orleans*, *Zutphen*. They went afterwards to encamp near *Utrecht*, who open'd their Gates. *Peter Grotius* came thither from the *States* with reasonable Proposals, which wou'd not be hear'd; and

and the King of *England* sent the Duke of *Buckingham* thither to be Mediator of the Peace: for he was willing enough to have the *Dutch* humbled; but had not a mind, that we should make our selves Masters of *Holland*, which had been, and was still upon the brink of Ruin. During the Conference, the face of Affairs entirely chang'd in *Holland*. The Pensionary *De Wit* and his Brother were assassinated in a popular Commotion, by the Order, as was thought, of the Prince of *Orange* their Enemy, who from that Moment set himself at the Head of Affairs, rais'd the dejected Spirit of that Republick, would not hear of Peace, and shew'd evidently, as one of our Poets says,

———*Qu' aux ames bien nées,
La valeur n'attend pas le nombre des
années.*

*The glorious Mind in early worth ap-
pears,
And in her Actions antedates her
Years.* He

66 MEMOIRS of

He was declar'd Statholder, and, excepting the Peace of *Nimeguen*, which the *States* made against his Will, they were never govern'd, during the Remainder of his Life, but by his Counsels, or, to say better, by his Order. All Negotiation of Peace being broke off, the King return'd into *France*, and left a great many Troops in *Holland*, with the Duke of *Luxembourg* to command them. He might without Difficulty have fallen at once upon the *Spanish Flanders*, unfurnish'd both of Money and Troops, and have made himself Master of it: but he contented himself to pass through it as a Traveler, and to come and enjoy the Fruits of his Exploits at *Versailles*. Indeed he had well chastis'd the *Dutch*, and shewn them what his Power was: but it appear'd in the Sequel, that he had done nothing decisive for his Country, tho' it had been in his Power to do it. It is impossible to pass by this part of our History, which has been the Cause of all that has happen'd since, without

without making this Reflection, that a State ought never to act contrary to certain fundamental Interests, except it be resolv'd to push Matters to Extremity, and no appearance be left of establishing the Power it attacks. We never had any thought of taking *Holland*, but only of chastising it. An ill Design! For we have made an Impression of Fear and Hatred in the Heart of a People, who by their proper Interest were naturally our Allies; and have made the Impression to that degree, that they have wasted their Estates, and endanger'd their Liberty, to humble us. We have been the Occasion, that they have given themselves up to a Chief, that has taught them the Art of War; and a Republick, which, in the Condition wherein it was, could never have been formidable to us, is become the most powerful of all our Enemies, without which all the rest were not capable of resisting us. Far therefore from attacking them, we should have thought only
of

68 *MEMOIRS of*

of lulling them to sleep; and by that means we might have done all that we had desir'd in *Europe*.

But if the undertaking of this War was faulty in its Beginning, we have been still more faulty in the Execution. For when Fortune stretch'd out her Arms to us; when all Places surrender'd, and we had thirty thousand Prisoners of War, we stopp'd at every Step. Instead of marching with all the Army, or a great part of it to *Muyden*, which was the great Affair; we contented our selves to send the Count *de Rochefort* thither with five hundred Horse, who fail'd of taking it. The King amus'd himself in taking the Towns which are upon the *Iffel*, whilst he might have penetrated into the Heart of *Holland*, which was not yet overflow'd. He amus'd himself in hearing Proposals of Peace, when his only Business was to have render'd himself entirely Master of the Countrey, after which he had soon been so likewise of the *Spanish Flanders*. A-
nother

nother thing alfo, which he fhould not have done, was to reftore, as he did, twenty feven thoufand Soldiers that were Prifoners, for two Crowns a piece, and to return in the Month of *Auguft*, with the Choice of his Troops. I know it will be faid, that it is very eafy to fpeak after the Event: but what is the Difference between an able, and a weak Man, but that one fees a long time before, and the other does not fee till afterwards? There was ftill another Game to play, after having fail'd of *Holland*; it was to have fallen with all his Forces upon the *Spanifh Flanders*. This Undertaking had not, I think, been generous; but perhaps it was neceffary in found Politicks. All thefe falfe Steps, which I have now obferv'd, were not fo prejudicial to us in the Sequel, as they might and ought to have been; but our Enemies however drew great Advantages from them. We have thereby loft the Dominion of *Europe*, which we had gotten; and after having reunited all the
World

World against us, have, by our Industry, made our selves more hated, and less fear'd.

The King's Conquests in *Holland*, and the Rapidity with which they were made, rous'd the rest of *Europe*, as it were from a profound Sleep. Neither the *Hollanders*, nor any Man living, could have thought, that the King could have been able to conquer *Holland* in three Months; yet this had like to have happen'd, for want of following the Advice of *Monſieur de Wit*, their Pensionary, and by the Superiority of his *Genius* the Master of that Republick. This able Minister had propos'd to the States, before the King could put himself into the Field, to attack *Nuys*, and burn all the Magazines; which had put us out of a Condition to carry the War into their Countrey. The *States*, for having neglected this Advice, were within a very little of being ruin'd; and it cost him, who gave it, his Life, that he was not able to get it put in Execution.

The

The rest of the Year 1671, pass'd in Negotiations between the Emperor, *Spain*, the Princes of *Germany*, and *Holland*, who united together towards the End of the Year 1673, to bring us to Reason. There was only the King of *England* that wou'd not declare War against us to the last Extremity, tho' the Prince of *Orange*, and the Parliament press'd him thereto without intermission; and his Sister the Dutches of *Orleans*, for whom he had a tender Affection, and who had begun the Friendship between him and the King of *France*, was unhappily dead since the Year 1670, not without Suspicion of Poison. On this Occasion I cannot forbear mentioning what gave a Handle to these Suspicions, and to some Intrigues of the Court during the Years of Peace, which preceded the War with *Holland*.



CHAP. VI.

*Intrigues in the Court, and the
Changes which happen'd there
from the Year 1667, to the
Year 1672.*

THE Princess *Henrietta Stuart*,
Sister of *Charles the II^d*. King
of *England*, Grand-Daughter of *France*
by her Mother, one of the Daughters
of *Henry the IVth*. had married, as I
have said, *Philip of France*, the King's
only Brother. This Prince, young,
beautiful, and a lover of his Pleasures,
began with a great Affection for his
Wife, who tho' a little round Shoul-
der'd, had not only in her Mind, but
even in her Person, all the Engage-
ment imaginable. But as this Prince
was not destin'd to love only the Wo-
men, the Violence of this Passion did
not continue long: and tho' he has
had

had all his Life long a great deal of Familiarity with the fair Sex, it is suspected that he has had some other Passion.

Of all the Love he had for her, he had soon nothing left but Jealousy. He had Occasion enough to exercise it with a young Princess ador'd by every one, a little *Coquette*, and tho' strictly virtuous, I believe, yet not unwilling to be beloved. On the other side, this ambitious Princess had a mind to govern not only her Husband, but all the Court, if she had been able: and took it very ill, that on the King's Part, *Mademoiselle de la Valiere* his Mistress, and afterwards *Madame de Montespan*, and on that of the Duke of *Orleans* her Husband, the *Chevalier de Lorraine*, his new Favourite, hindered her from governing both one and the other. The Bishop of *Valence*, first Almoner to the Duke, and *Madame de St. Chaumont*, Governante of her Children, made her act vigorously against the *Chevalier de Lorraine*: but they soon found,

E

that

that they could not hurt him with the King, by means of the Duchefs, though assisted by *Monsieur Turenne*, who on this Occasion acted a part very extraordinary, for a Man of his Weight and Character, to whom the King had just entrusted the Design which he had to humble the *Dutch*, and to make War upon them. They were therefore of Opinion, that in order to succeed in this Design, it was necessary to procure *Charles* the II^d King of *England*, who was very fond of his Sister, to enter into it. My Lord *Montague*, Ambassador of that King, and one of the Duchefs's Friends, who was willing to make her considerable, persuaded the King, that no body was so capable, as she, to negotiate this Affair. The King therefore entirely chang'd his Conduct towards the Duchefs, whom he had often neglected; and all on a sudden she appear'd the most powerful at Court. A great Friendship was made between her and *Monsieur Turenne*, who, as has been said,

said, was entrusted with the Secret of this Affair. He was every Day at the Duchess's, and there saw *Madame de Coaquin*, *Madame de Sabire's* Sister, a young Lady, tho' not very handsome, yet at least very agreeable, and at that time a kind of Favourite of the Duchess. Neither the Age of this great Commander, nor his Wisdom could hinder him from falling in Love with her, and his Weakness was such, as to impart to her the Secret of State. The Duke of *Orleans*, who saw with regret, that his Wife, with whom he was dissatisfied, got a great deal of Credit with the King, suspected she was managing some Affair of Consequence: but not being able to find out, what it was, his Favourite the *Chevalier de Lorraine*, soon help'd him through that difficulty. He was the most agreeable young Gentleman at Court, and the most sensible. He set upon *Madame de Coaquin*, and to say the Truth, the Lady made no long Resistance. She discovered the Du-

E 2 chess's

chess's designs to him, and the Secret of State, with which *Monsieur Turenne* had entrusted her. The Duke of *Orleans* broke out against his Wife, and complaining to the King of the Indignity wherewith she had treated him, acquainted his Majesty, that he knew all that they would have concealed from him. It was not long discovering by what means he had learn'd it, and the Confusion of *Monsieur Turenne* was excessive, when the King reproach'd him with the Weakness he was guilty of towards *Madame de Coaquin*. He was all his Life so much ashamed of it, that the *Chevalier de Lorraine* has told me, that a long time after, when they were perfectly Friends again, desiring to speak to *Monsieur Turenne* concerning this Adventure, he answer'd him very pleasantly, in my Opinion, *We will speak of it when you please, Sir, provided we put out the Candles*. After this discovery the Duke of *Orleans* used his Wife very ill, they were together

gether without speaking to one another; and whatever was agreeable to one, was abhorr'd by the other. The King took that Occasion to cause the *Chevalier de Lorraine* to be secur'd, as the Person that fomented this difference. He was at first sent to *Pierre-Encize*, afterwards to *Chateau d'If*. The Marquis of *Villeroy*, his Friend, was banish'd to *Lions*. So was the Count of *Marsau* his Brother. The Duke of *Orleans*, enrag'd with Anger, retir'd to *Villiers Coterets*, and carry'd the Duchess with him. *Monsieur Colbert* was sent thither to bring him back, and after some Journeys to and fro, in which it was stipulated, that the *Chevalier de Lorraine* should be releas'd from Prison, and go to *Rome*, the Duke return'd to Court, but more discontented with his Wife, than ever. She took a Journey afterwards into *Flanders* with the King, and went into *England*, where she concluded with her Brother the Treaty made to attack *Holland*. The Duke

78 *MEMOIRS of*

of *Monmouth*, Natural Son of *Charles* the II^d, who had lately travelled into *France*, the handsomest Personage one could see, did, during that Journey, redouble the Duke of *Orleans's* Jealousy: but the Duchess, who was at that Time a *Mediatrice* between the two Kings, much loved by one thro' Inclination, and very sure of the other, because he had need of her, gave her self no disturbance about it. She return'd to *St. Cloud*, to enjoy the Pleasure of the Season, and the Conversation of her Friends, as *Monsieur Turenne*, the Duke of *Rocheboucault*, *Madame de la Fayette*, *Monsieur Troiseville*, and others. Though I was not in her Confidence, yet I was one of those, whose Care and Diligence she was pleas'd to accept most favourably. In this flourishing Condition, after having bath'd sometimes in the River, one day after Dinner, having drank a Glass of Water, she felt terrible Pains, which did not leave her till that Night, which was her last.

She

She died with all the Resolution, and Sentiments of Religion imaginable. It was impossible not to suspect such a Death of Poyson. However it did not break the Friendship of the two Kings; who pursued the Execution of their designs: So true it is, that Kings neither, think nor govern themselves like other Men. The Loss of this Princess was infinitely regretted. *Monsieur Troisville*, whom I brought back with me that day from *St. Cloud*, and kept to lie with me, that he should not be left a Prey to his Grief, retir'd from the World upon that Occasion, and shut himself up in a Convent, where he has continued ever since. It is certain, that the Court in the Loss of this Princess, lost the only Person of her Rank, that was capable of loving and distinguishing Merit: and since her Death there has been nothing but Gaming, Confusion, and Unpoliteness.

Some Years before the Count *de Lauzun*, formerly *Monsieur Peguillain*,

lain, had rais'd himself in the Favour of the Court. He was of *Gascony*, a younger Son of the Family of *Cau-mont*, the most insolent little Man that had been seen for an Age, who by the Assistance of *Madame de Montespan*, whose Confident he was, and by his own Compliance, Insinuation, and Devotion to the Court, was become the Master of it, and stood up against *Monsieur Louvois*, the most insolent Minister then in Place; for the Interest of *Monsieur Colbert* began to sink: But that of this little Man was at its highest pitch, and induc'd him to form the Design of Marrying *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, the King's Cousin-German, Daughter of the late *Gaston of France*, Duke of *Orleans*, who had a Fortune of six or seven hundred thousand Livres a Year, and had like to have been married to the King himself, and afterwards to the Duke of *Orleans*, and had refus'd some Kings and Sovereigns. And here it must be owned, that there have happen'd in
this

this Age things more particular than in any other, not to say more ridiculous; for so was this whole Affair to the last degree. This Lady fell in Love with Count *Lauzun*, as much, I believe, because he was the King's Favourite, as for his amiable Qualities, which were neither extraordinary, nor in great Number. However, he carried the matter with so much Address, and to so great a Length, that it was an universal Surprize, when the Duke of *Montausier*, and Marshal *d'Albert's* Lady went one day to ask the King, to give him *Mademoiselle de Montpensier* in Marriage, and this not only as Relations and Friends to the Count *de Lauzun*, but as Deputies, as I may so say, from the Nobility of *France*, who would take it, they said, as a great Honour and Favour; if his Majesty would permit a private Gentleman to marry a Princess of that Rank, alledging, from the History of pass'd Times, Examples of such Alliances. The King, who was already

E 5 prepar'd,

82 *MEMOIRS of*

prepar'd, and resolv'd to grant every thing to his Favourite, receiv'd them graciously, and gave his Consent, that the Lady should do what she pleas'd. The Princess being intoxicated with Love, and the Count with Vanity, look'd upon their Business as sure; and the latter was Fool enough to defer the Wedding for some Days, that it might be solemniz'd in all the Forms, and with all the Splendor, which his Vanity desir'd, as if he had married his Equal. During this short delay, all the Royal Family, the Ministers of State, and the whole Court declar'd against this Marriage. The Queen herself, who never meddled in any Affairs, spoke to the King in very strong Terms; the Duke of Orleans still in stronger; and the Prince of Condé, though with great Respect, made Remonstrances to him, not without Impression. On the other hand, the Archbishop of *Paris*, upon some Pretence, deserr'd giving them the Ban for Marrying, at the instance of *Monsieur*

sieur le Tellier and *Monsieur Louvois*, declar'd Enemies to the Count *de Lauzun*. But what entirely broke off the Matter, was *Madame Scaron*, a Woman of great Wit, whom *Madame de Montespan* had plac'd with the Children which she had by the King, and who was then her chief Confident. *Madame Scaron*, I say, shew'd *Madame de Montespan*, what a Storm she would bring upon herself, by supporting the Count *de Lauzun* in this Affair; that the Royal Family and the King himself would reproach her, with persuading him to make such a step. In short, she manag'd the Matter so, that the very Person who first brought on the Marriage, now broke it off; and that the Count *de Lauzun* and *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, at the end of three or four days, were order'd to proceed no farther in their Marriage. This was a Thunderclap which ruin'd the Count's Fortune, and at the same time brought the Princess into disesteem. For in

prepar'd, and resolv'd to grant every thing to his Favourite, receiv'd them graciously, and gave his Consent, that the Lady should do what she pleas'd. The Princess being intoxicated with Love, and the Count with Vanity, look'd upon their Business as sure; and the latter was Fool enough to defer the Wedding for some Days, that it might be solemniz'd in all the Forms, and with all the Splendor, which his Vanity desir'd, as if he had married his Equal. During this short delay, all the Royal Family, the Ministers of State, and the whole Court declar'd against this Marriage. The Queen herself, who never meddled in any Affairs, spoke to the King in very strong Terms; the Duke of Orleans still in stronger; and the Prince of Condé, though with great Respect, made Remonstrances to him, not without Impression. On the other hand, the Archbishop of *Paris*, upon some Pretence, deserr'd giving them the Ban for Marrying, at the instance of *Monsieur*

sieur le Tellier and *Monsieur Louvois*, declar'd Enemies to the Count *de Lauzun*. But what entirely broke off the Matter, was *Madame Scaron*, a Woman of great Wit, whom *Madame de Montespan* had plac'd with the Children which she had by the King, and who was then her chief Confident. *Madame Scaron*, I say, shew'd *Madame de Montespan*, what a Storm she would bring upon herself, by supporting the Count *de Lauzun* in this Affair; that the Royal Family and the King himself would reproach her, with persuading him to make such a step. In short, she manag'd the Matter so, that the very Person who first brought on the Marriage, now broke it off; and that the Count *de Lauzun* and *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, at the end of three or four days, were order'd to proceed no farther in their Marriage. This was a Thunderclap which ruin'd the Count's Fortune, and at the same time brought the Princess into disesteem. For it

84 *MEMOIRS of*

this Marriage had appear'd extraordinary from the moment it was first publish'd, it was no sooner broke off, but it became ridiculous. The King himself told the Princess, that she must think no more of it, and to make the Count amends, offer'd him all the Advantages and Dignities, that he could give him. But this enrag'd Favourite would accept of nothing. This Adventure making a great Noise over all *Europe*, the King thought himself oblig'd to send a Circular Letter to all his Ambassadors, which they should shew in the Courts where they resided. It explain'd the Reasons he had had, first to promise, and afterwards to forbid this Marriage. Some have said, that this Letter came from the Pen of *Monsieur de Lionne*. Others have affirm'd, that he only copied it from the King. However, the Letter was printed, and sent every whither, and was the only step left, to render this Affair perfectly ridiculous. As for the Count *de Lauzun*, he was exaspe-

exasperated to such a degree against *Madame de Montespan*, that he rav'd against her to the last Extremity, even before the King; insomuch that she vow'd his Ruin from that moment; and it was not long e're it happen'd. I remember, that being return'd from *Languedoc* a few days after this Marriage was broke off, I found the Count *de Lauzun* at *St. Germain's*, at a Lady's House who was related to me, with whom he was very intimate: and after having ask'd me, if I had not very much pitied him under the Misfortune which had happen'd to him; he spoke of *Madame de Montespan* with so much Indignation and Contempt, and as a Man so little in his Senses, that being return'd to *Paris* to see a Lady, one of mine and of the Count *de Lauzun's* Friends, with whom I had for some Years been very much in Love, I said to her: *Your Friend Lauzun is an undone Man, and will not be six Months longer at Court.* In fact, within four Months he

he was arrested at *St. Germain's*, and sent to the Citadel of *Pignerol*, where he continued above ten Years. Many thought the Reason was, that he had consummated his Marriage with *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, notwithstanding the King's repeated Prohibition. Most were of Opinion, that the Credit of *Madame de Montespan* only, who told the King, that she did not think herself in Safety of her Life, as long as the Count *de Lauzun* was at Liberty, was the Cause of his Misfortune, to which were joined the constant ill Offices of *Monsieur de Louvois*, his mortal Enemy, who made his imprisonment the most cruel that can be imagined.

But let us leave this Subject, to speak of three Men, who at that time rais'd their Fortune to a great height in despite of the Ministers. The first was *Monsieur Bellefonds*, who had stuck close to the King, from the time of Cardinal *Mazarin*; when every one else neglected to make Court to him.

him. 'Twas he whom the King entrusted, towards the End of the Cardinal's Days, to come and give him a faithful Account of his State of Health, and of whom he often ask'd concerning him, *Is he gone?* *Bellefonds* was excessively ambitious, and one that lov'd particular and private ways. He had Sense good enough, but disagreeable, and subject to capricious Imaginations. His Courage, his Honour, and his Devotion were all counterfeited, and he had never done any thing in War, which merited considerable Promotion. Yet he was capable of thinking right. The King had great Confidence in him at first; and on the Death of *Monsieur de Vervins*, made him first Master of the Houthold; which Place, though not of the chief Rank, yet is one of those, which affords most Access to the King, and procures most Esteem from the Publick. He put it upon a very good foot; and besides this, continued to serve in the War so much to the King's Satisf.

Satisfaction, that after the *Campagne* of 1667, he was made Marshal of *France*, together with the *Marquis de Crequi*, and *d'Humieres*, who had perhaps been neither of them so soon promoted to that Honour, but for the Desire of giving the Staff to *Monsieur de Bellefonds*. As long as he stay'd at Court, he supported himself against *Monsieur de Louvois*, who was none of his Friend; but he was no sooner gone from Court, but *Louvois* ruin'd him. In the Sequel I will mention how.

The second that I shall speak of, is *Monsieur de la Feuillade*, a mad Man of a great deal of Wit, continually employ'd in making his Court, and the Person of most Penetration of any about the King, but who often overshoot the Mark. He made his Fortune by his Extravagancies, and one of the things which did him most Service, was to quarrel with all the Ministers one after another.

Monsieur Colbert however was his Friend.

Friend. For the rest, he imagin'd things, which no other Man wou'd ever have thought of. He carried with him into *Candia*, at his own Expense, two hundred Gentlemen of the best Families of *France*, Volunteers, one of the Chief of them the Count *de St. Pol*,— then a younger Brother, and since Duke of *Longueville*, his Brother being under a total Incapacity of succeeding to that Honour.

Monsieur de la Feuillade did nothing of advantage to save the Town; but he made one vigorous Sally, wherein he lost part of his Men: Then he return'd home, and afterwards went into *Spain* with the *Marquis de Bethune*, who was to be his Second, and challeng'd *Monsieur St. Aunais*, because he had spoken disrespectfully of the King. *St. Aunais*, gouty, and broken, deny'd the Fact, and laugh'd at him. However, this *Don Quixot* Adventure did not displease the King. In a word; this Gentleman found means to support himself against the Count *de Lauzun*,
and

and *Monsieur de Louvois*, and became at length Duke, Marshal of *France*, Colonel of the Guards, and Governor of *Dauphiny*; and in this Quality he purchas'd the Palace of *La Ferte* after the Death of the Marshal of that Name, and built it into a Square, where he erected the King's Statue in *Bronze*, which is one of the finest Works of that time. He had before that, caus'd another to be made in Marble; and all the Testimonies of his Acknowledgment towards his Majesty had very much pleas'd that Prince. In my Judgment, tho' most Men look'd upon this as a foolish Ostentation, I cannot think it improper, that a Courtier, who has receiv'd great Favours from his Master, shou'd leave such a Monument of his Acknowledgement, supposing a wise Prince, and a Subject who shou'd be wise, capable of the least Vanity.

The third who has had a Share of his Master's Favour, and at last left a great Estate to his Family, is the Prince
of

of *Marillac*, now Duke of *Roche-foucault*. His first Beginning was bearing Arms against the King in the Civil Wars; and he was at the Battel of *St. Antoine* with his Father, the gallantest, cunningest, and most polite Man of his time, and one of the principal Authors of these last Civil Wars. After they were ended, his Son employ'd all his Endeavours to efface out of the King's Mind the ill Impressions his Majesty had receiv'd against their Family, and effectually succeeded in that Design, being a Person of Merit, well bred, and wise in Youth, a Character which the King always loved, tho' he has rais'd a great many Fools to considerable Fortunes.



CHAP. VII.

The Sequel of the principal Events in the War, and in the Court, from the End of the Year 1672, to that of the Year 1674.

LET us return to the War begun in the Year 1672, at first only against *Holland*, but afterwards against almost all *Europe*. The Empire, the Emperor, and the Kingdom of *Spain*, had too much Interest in supporting this Republick, not to put themselves into the Field. Accordingly the King was hardly return'd from his famous Expeditions, when he saw all these Powers preparing to make war against him. There was still room to enlarge his Conquests in *Holland*, which was under Water; and the *Spaniards* had not yet declar'd War against him. He imagin'd,

imagin'd, not without reason, that he could do nothing better in the beginning of the Year 1673, than take *Maestricht*, to secure himself on that side a Communication with what he had taken in *Holland*, having no other but by *Bonne* and the *Rhine*, which might easily be cut off, when ever the *Germans* shou'd be strong enough to possess themselves of *Cologne*. Therefore during the Winter, the necessary Preparations were made for this Siege; and the same Winter the Duke of *Luxembourg*, who commanded in *Holland*, was desirous of taking the Advantage of the Frost, to penetrate into the Heart of that Countrey; but after having taken *Woerden* with very great Valour, the Thaw hinder'd him from going any farther. On the other hand, *Monsieur Turenne*, who had taken Quarters in *Westphalia*, let a considerable Body of his Troops winter there; which, tho' fatigued with a long *Campagne*, and a very severe Season, he yet recruited so perfectly,
that

that in the Spring he compos'd of them a very gallant Army. Affairs being in this Posture, we march'd without any Obstacle into the *Spanish Netherlands*, and invested *Maestricht*; the Circumvallation of which was very great, as well as the Reputation of it; and there was a strong Garrison in it, under the Command of *Monsieur Fariaux*, who had formerly got great Credit by the Defence of *Valenciennes*. This Enterprize was indeed worthy of the King; but there being no Army in the Field to relieve the Town, and the Fortifications being only of Earth without facing, it was, after a smart Action on both sides, taken in seventeen Days from the opening of the Trenches. The King, according to his usual Custom, appear'd in the Siege vigilant, punctual, and indefatigable; but the excessive Precautions which the false Zeal of *Monsieur de Louvois*, and others, caus'd to be taken for the Safety of his Person, and which he permitted, had no very good Appearance in

the Eyes of a Nation, who (foolishly if you please) glories not only in braving Dangers, but in searching for them. I know that this is not the part of a King; but when he wou'd lead others to Opportunities of engaging, he shou'd not appear too evidently to avoid them himself, especially if he affect the Reputation of a Warrior, and of a Hero, of which he seem'd then to be ambitious, tho' he has since renounc'd it. *Maestricht* being taken, the *Campagne* was finish'd on the King's side. He divided his Troops into many Bodies. Some he sent into the Countrey of *Treves*, to join *Monsieur Turenne*, who was observing the Motions of the Army, which *Monsieur de Montecuculli*, the Emperor's *Generalissimo*, had assembled in *Bobemia*. I was among those Troops, and join'd *Monsieur Turenne* upon the River *Tauber* at *Marienthal*, where he rendezvouz'd his Army, which was dispers'd into Quarters, in order to march the next Day against *Monsieur de Montecuculli*,

culli, in the Plains of *Rotambourg*, with a Resolution to give him battel. It was only *Monsieur de Montecuculli* that prevented it; who wisely and artfully avoided the Engagement; his Design being to get to the *Rhine*, and take *Bonne*, before a numerous Party of Foot, which the King had in *Holland*, could be thrown into it. However, whether for want of Foresight, or thro' Malice, *Monsieur de Louvois*, a declar'd Enemy to *Monsieur Turenne*, suffer'd that Place to be taken, and laid the Blame upon this Marshal; who notwithstanding, had long since acquainted the King, and his Council, that he could only preserve the *Upper Rhine*, and that he ought to make use of that Number of Troops, which were useless in *Holland*, to preserve *Bonne*. The Courtiers, to please the first Minister, found very great fault with *Monsieur Turenne*; and he was so incens'd at it, that perceiving the Prince of *Condé* also very much dissatisfy'd with the Conduct of *Monsieur*

sieur de Louvois, they both resolv'd to attack that haughty Minister, and to tell the King, what were their real Sentiments concerning him; that is to say, that by his Application and Activity he was capable of serving in the Execution of his Majesty's Designs, but not to govern his Armies at a Distance, as he pretended to do; that he had neither Foresight, nor Experience enough for that; and that the Roughness of his Temper, his Pride, and Rashness would spoil all. *Monsieur Turenne* pursued his Resolution that Winter, and spoke in good earnest to the King, upon the Subject of his Favourite Minister, in the manner I have now mention'd. Nay, he did more than this. He told *Monsieur de Louvois* himself all that he had been saying to the King of him, and treated him as a Novice, unworthy of his Post. The Prince of *Condé* had not the Courage to second *Monsieur Turenne*; which was the Occasion, that this Remonstrance had no Success. On

F

the

the contrary, that Ostentation, with which *Monsieur Turenne*, a lover of Glory and Popularity, publish'd, the Conversation he had had with the King, and the little Reserve he had had for his first Minister, disgusted his Majesty, to whom old *Monsieur le Tellier*, at the same time that he was making his Submissions to *Monsieur Turenne*, did not fail to observe whatever was to be remark'd in that Procedure.

The King resolving, in the Year 1674, to take the Field early, and to begin the *Campagne* with attacking the *Franche Comté*, *Monsieur Turenne*, who was acquainted with his Designs, (for he form'd none without his Privy) receiv'd Advice, that the Duke of *Lorraine* was marching with a Body of seven or eight thousand Men, in all appearance to throw himself into that Province. He desir'd the King to let him go that moment to oppose the Designs of that Duke; and being arriv'd upon the Frontiers of *Lorraine* and the *Franche Comté*, he found means,

means, by the frequent Motions of a small Body of Horse and Dragoons which he had, to make the Duke of *Lorraine* believe, that he was assembling a great Army. This hinder'd that Duke from ent'ring into the *Franche Comté* with his Troops; which if he had done, the Designs of the King upon that Province had been disconcerted. Nor was *Monsieur Turenne* contented with the Service he had thus done: For hearing that the Duke of *Lorraine*, after having fail'd of his Design, was retiring with the Body he had brought with him, he judg'd so precisely of the Way he would take, and the Time he would employ, in making his Retreat, that he resolv'd to gather together, as he went along, as many as he could of the Troops dispers'd in those Quarters, as far as *Philipsbourg*, being sure, as he said, to meet the Duke of *Lorraine* about *Zinsheim*: The Effect shew'd, that he reason'd justly: He set out therefore from near *Basil*, *Monsieur de Vendôme*,

F 2

dôme, the *Grand Prior*, a young Prince lively and bold, attending him, and with all possible Diligence arriv'd at *Philipsbourg*. There he made all the Troops he had assembled, as fast as they arriv'd, pass the River upon the floating Bridge, and join'd them with a Party of Foot of that Place. With this Body, which was almost equal to that of the Duke of *Lorraine*, he march'd directly to *Zinsheim*, where he had always foreseen, that he shou'd meet the Duke: and accordingly he found him there, but also found very great Obstacles to hinder his attacking and conquering him. And altho' I have not in this Work undertaken to give exact Relations of Battels, and especially of those, where I was not present my self, yet this Action was so singular, and I have been so well inform'd of the Circumstances of it, from those that were upon the Spot, that I think I am able to give a just *Idea* of it; and that is the Reason that I undertake to relate it.

Monsieur

Monsieur L. M. D. L. F. 101

Monsieur Turenne arriving at *Zinsheim*, discover'd the Duke of *Lorraine's* Troops, who were putting themselves into order of Battel upon a little Elevation on the other side of the Town, and of a Brook, in a Ground streight enough for them to cover it entirely. The Duke had also thrown some Dragoons into *Zinsheim*, inso-much that it was necessary to take the Town, the Walls of which were whole, and to pass the Brook, before it was possible to give him Battel. Our General lost no time, but made his Infantry attack the Town, which they took without Opposition. Afterwards he plac'd them in the Hedges, on the Right and Left of the other side of the Brook, and began to make his Cavalry file off by four a breast thro' the Gate of the Town, and at first form a Line of a few Squadrons, under the Shelter of the Fire of his Infantry. As the former gain'd Ground, the latter advanc'd on both sides of the Hedges to sustain them. Indeed the Enemy, who

F 3

were

were more in front, coming to charge them when they were half over, and having put them into some disorder, they rallied again under the Fire of the Infantry, which the Enemy could not sustain. In the mean time, the rest of our Troops passed on, and form'd a second Line: but it being necessary, that the first Line shou'd advance, to make room for the second, the Duke of *Lorraine*, like an experienc'd General, took that Opportunity of making a second Discharge. The Fault which *Monsieur St. Abre* had committed, in quitting the Hedges too soon, and leaving his Flank uncover'd, before an Enemy more in front than himself, was the Occasion, that one part of this Line was beaten, and himself kill'd. But the Damage was repair'd by the second Line, and the good Conduct of *Monsieur Turenne*: and when he saw all his Troops passed, and had drawn them out on both sides, so that he had a Front equal to that of the Enemy, he charg'd himself, Sword
in

Monsieur L. M. D. L. F. 103

in Hand, at the Head of the first Regiment, with so much Bravery, that he put the Duke of *Lorraine's* Army to Flight, and long pursu'd them as far as the Woods and *Defilés*, where he took and kill'd a great Number of them. This was the third Action, in which the Grand Prior *Monsieur de Vendôme* was present, being still very young. For he was a Child at the Surrendry of *Candie*, and at the Passage of the *Rhine* in the Year 1672; but has signaliz'd himself since in many other Battels.

This Victory gave a happy Beginning to this *Campagne*, which at first was in all appearance like to prove fatal to *France*. For we had never till then so many Enemies to oppose, nor had seen so great Armies: and the Kingdom within appear'd ill-dispos'd, the Provinces of *Guienne*, *Normandie*, and *Bretagne* being ready to revolt. It must be acknowledg'd, that on this occasion one cannot too much praise *Monsieur Turenne*, alone capable of
F 4 design.

designing and executing an Action like this, which he supported by four other Battels this *Campagne*, which was his last. He was unhappily kill'd by a Canon Shot at the Beginning of the following *Campagne*, when he was ready to make *Monsieur de Montecuculli* repass the Mountains on the other side of the *Rhine*.

This Year 1674, the King march'd early to the Conquest of the *Franche-Comté*, which he took entirely in six Weeks time. He sent the Prince of *Condé* into *Flanders*, to oppose the Designs of the Enemy, who were forming an Army of more than Sixty Thousand Men. It must be observ'd, that in the mean time, while the King was taking the *Franche-Comté*, he had order'd the Prince of *Condé* to attack *Valenciennes*, or *Mons*, and said every day to his Courtiers, that the very moment he spoke to them, one of those Places was invested: But it may be said, that on this occasion the General was wiser than the King.
For

For having at the most but two or three and Thirty Thousand Men, and knowing that the Prince of *Orange* was marching against him with Sixty Thousand, he thought only of choos- ing a Post, where he might safely re- ceive him, and break his Measures. He posted himself therefore in a Camp, naturally entrench'd by the Brook of *Piéton*, which is deep enough, and difficult to pass. He kept near *Char- leroi*, which was on his Right; from whence he had his Provisions, and ex- tended his Left all along the rising Ground, within half a League of the Village of *Senef*, which is in the bot- tom, upon the Brook of the same Name. He continued for some time in this Camp, before the Enemy march'd to him. We found at last, that they were coming to us, above Sixty Thousand strong. Their Army was compos'd of the Emperor's Troops and of those of *Spain*, commanded by *Monsieur Louvigni*, and the *Mar- quis d'Assentar*: the Count de *Mon-*

106 MEMOIRS of

tery was there, but as a Volunteer: because the Prince of *Orange*, Stat-holder General of *Holland*, commanded in chief.

This great Army, as strong again * as our's, did not dare to attack us in the Post where we were, but came to brave us, as I may say, encamping at *Senef*, very near our Left. Their Design, as 'tis said, was to besiege *Ath*, and to fight us, if we attempted to relieve it. The Prince of *Condé* waited patiently till they decamp'd; and being inform'd, that they march'd upon the first of *August*, he remov'd with the *Gardes du Corps*, and some Brigades of Horse and Foot, to the left, with all diligence. He saw them march some time, and perceiv'd that by reason of the difficulty of the Ground, full of *Defilés* and Woods, their Vanguard, and even the Body of

* The Prince of Orange's Army was a little more than Sixty Thousand Men, and that of the Prince of Condé Fifty Thousand.

their

their Army were at some distance from their Rere, which was still at the Village of *Senef*, while their main Body was at *Mons*. He resolv'd that very moment to attack their Rear, commanded by the *Marquis d'Assentar*, General of the *Spanish Cavalrie*, who cover'd the Prince of *Vaudemont* with three Thousand Horse, and while he made the *Gardes du Corps* pass the Rivulet, to charge the Body of Horse, which was posted on the other Side, he order'd *Monsieur Montal*, with the Brigade of *Navarre*, to attack the Village of *Senef*, where there were fourteen or fifteen Thousand Foot. These were all kill'd, or taken, and the three Thousand Horse beaten. *Monsieur de Montal* had his Leg broke, and the *Marquis d'Assentar* was kill'd. When this was done, the Prince of *Condé* detach'd *Monsieur Feurille*, *Mestre de Camp*, General of the Horse, and Lieutenant-General, to convoy the Baggage, possess'd himself of it, and follow'd the rest of the Enemy's

F 6

Army,

Army, who were in disorder : yet they rallied again, and posted themselves upon an Elevation call'd *St. Nicolas*, defended on both sides by a Precipice. They threw their Infantry into the Woods. The Prince of *Condé*, who would not give him the time to fortify himself there, caus'd their Infantry to be attack'd by the first Brigades that arriv'd from ours, and their Cavalry by the *Gardes du Corps*, the *Gendarmes*, and the light Horse of the Guard. The Hill was taken, and most of the *Dutch* Foot were overthrown and kill'd in the *Ravines*, and hollow ways which were behind them. By this time we had kill'd six Thousand of the Enemy, taken their Baggage, and made four Thousand Prisoners, with the Loss of very few of our own Men: And if the Prince of *Condé* could have got his Infantry together that moment, he had entirely defeated their whole Army: but because those of his Right, who might have pass'd behind his Camp, and fallen up-

on the Enemy's Flank, if we had sooner discover'd which way they march'd: because this Body of Foot, I say, follow'd that of the Left in a Column, and pass'd through *Defilés* and narrow ways, they arriv'd late, and out of Breath. However the Prince could not give them time to draw themselves up together: for he saw the Emperor's Army, who had led up the Front that day, return; and considering, that if they were once posted in the Village *du Fey*, encompass'd with Hedges, *Ravines* and Hop-Grounds, he should never be able to drive them thence, he caus'd the Enemy's Post to be attack'd by the Regiments, as fast as they came up: which though it was done by our Troops with the utmost Bravery; yet we could not carry it: and in this place we lost as many Men as they. Then the Prince of *Condé* order'd his Cavalry to be posted on a little Plain, which was on his Right, and on the Left of the Village *du Fey*, to intercept their Rere; and for fear a
great

great Body of the Emperor's Horse, which he saw upon his Right, might take him in Flank, he gave order to *Monsieur Luxembourg*, to go and oppose them with the Brigade of the *Gendarmerie*; while he, with the rest of the *Gardes du Corps*, and the Brigade of *Quelus*, enter'd into the little Plain, on the left hand of the Village *du Fey*. There he found the Emperor's Horse already arriv'd, whose first Line the *Gardes du Corps* broke; but the second repuls'd them. He order'd them to be supported by the Brigade of *Quelus*, who drove them back to the other side of a little *Ravine*, which abutted upon the Village *du Fey* on one side, where the great Body of their Foot was, and upon a Wood, into which also they had thrown some of them. This *Ravine* run across the little Plain. Upon the Brow they had five Pieces of Canon; and the main Body of their Horse was coming to preserve this Post, which saved their Army: for if we had driven them
from

from thence, we should have come behind their Infantry, who were engag'd with others in the Hop-Grounds, and the Village. There the Prince of *Condé* found he wanted more Troops, and therefore sent order to *Monsieur des Roches*, his Captain of the Guards, that all those should march to him, who were following *Monsieur Luxembourg*. *Des Roches* arriv'd at the Head of that Company of the *Dauphin's Gens d'Armes*, which I commanded, compos'd of two large Squadrons, and said to me, Don't follow *Monsieur de Luxembourg* at the Head of your Brigade, but come and succour the Prince of *Condé*, who will be defeated and lost, if you do not make haste. I advanced immediately with my Squadrons, that of the *Dauphin's* light Horse, and the *Gens-d'Armes* of *Anjou*. We found in good earnest what was left of the *Gardes du Corps*, and the Brigade of *Quelus*, oblig'd to give Ground, and were repassing the River, but in good Order. We march'd
to

to the Enemy, and push'd them beyond the *Ravine*, from whence they contented themselves to make a great Discharge upon us both of Canons and Musquets. The Prince of *Condé* had a mind at this instant, to throw into that *Ravine* the two Batalions of *Swiss* Guards, which were all he had there. They would infallibly have oblig'd them to abandon it, and thereby have decided the Matter. But they only stop'd their Soldiers, without advancing, suffering themselves to be kill'd, as Men afraid. The Prince being desperate, and all in a Fury, as naturally he was, said no more but this: *We must find others: these will not go.* Which shew'd how much he was Master of himself on great Occasions. He had before had two Horses kill'd under him, as he had a third in that Place. The Count *de Saulx*, then *Marshal de Camp*, put us into order of Battel, and the Cavalry which had charg'd, having pass'd between, put themselves behind us, and afterwards

wards all the rest of the Horse, upon many Lines, after which there being no likelihood, that we should be able, without Foot and without Artillery, to force the Enemy, who had both in that Place, we continued the rest of the Day, which seem'd to us very long, expos'd, in a little Space, within Pistol-Shot, to the Fire of five Pieces of Canon, often charg'd with *Cartouches*, and to that of the Infantry, which they had in the Wood. This Situation, though not safe, yet was necessary; for there was little Probability that we should be able, in Sight of the Enemy, to repass those very difficult *Defilés*, which we had pass'd to get thither, any more than that we would abandon our Foot, engag'd with that of the Enemy in the Village *du Fey*. At last the Night came, and the Prince of *Condé*, whose Courage never fail'd, order'd other Batalions to advance, and more Canon to be sent for, to attack the Enemy again by break of Day. All that heard this Proposal, were

were enrag'd at it; and it appear'd manifestly, that there was none but the Prince, that had any mind to fight again. However, Preparation was made to renew the Fight. The Prince likewise had alighted from his Horse; and all was very still on both sides; when about Eleven a Clock both sides made a terrible Discharge. The Enemy say, we began it; and we pretend it was they. Howe'er it was, almost all the Cavalry fled, and the Count *D'Ostain*, the Prince of *Condé's* first *Querry*, a Gentleman of great Courage, had much trouble to put him on Horseback. He was no sooner mounted, but he heard the Sound of Timbals and Trumpets; and gallopping towards it, he found my Squadron in good order, which I caus'd to march, and advance as far as a little Cops of Wood, which was upon my Right, between the *Ravine* and me, which I had observ'd in the Day, and with which, in this Disorder, I was willing to cover the Right of my Squadron, to prevent being flank'd. He was

was very glad to find me, and giving me more Praise than I deserv'd, he rallied his Troops the best he could. This Fright which he had, had made him change his Design of attacking the Enemies again at break of Day, into that of retiring that very moment, which he had no Difficulty to do in good Order; for the Enemy, as we were inform'd afterwards, were at the same time retiring towards *Mons*. About Midnight therefore we repass'd that *Defilé*, which we had pass'd to come to the Plain, where the *Ravine* was, and took the Road back to our Camp, where we arriv'd between eight and nine a Clock in the Morning. As for the Enemy, they retir'd under *Mons*, very well contented, that they had not lost their whole Army, which indeed had been in great Danger. I was desirous to give an Account of this Action, because it was the greatest in which I was ever present, and has been related very differently, not only by Persons of the other side, but
by

116 MEMOIRS of

by those of our own. At Court they blam'd the Prince of *Condé*, for having been too adventurous towards the end of the Action: but for my part, I was always of Opinion, that he had been wanting to the State, and to himself, when he saw an Opportunity of entirely defeating this great Army, if he had not attempted what he did. What is most certain, and cannot be denied by the Enemies is, that he brought them from *Senef* as far as the Village *du Fey*, which is a League and a Half, fighting with them all the way; that he possess'd himself of their Baggage, kill'd them eight thousand Men, and took five thousand Men Prisoners, before they came to that Village; that after that, he did not lose more than they; and that this Action so much disconcerted the Designs of that Army, which consisted of sixty thousand Men, that all they could think of towards the end of the *Campagne*, was the Siege of *Oudenarde*, which he forc'd them to raise. So that this

Campagne

Campagne may be reckoned amongst those, which have been most happy for *France*, and most glorious for this great General. However, the Loss was considerable on our side. There were a thousand Officers kill'd, and more than six thousand Soldiers. But the Enemies Loss was much greater; and the Count *de Monterey*, Governor of the *Low Countries*, going into *France* the Year after, said, that the Day after this Battel, the Army of the Confederates was weaker by twenty thousand Men, who had been kill'd, or taken, or had deserted. This Action had the effect of all great Battels, which is to calm the Fury of both sides for some time. The Prince of *Orange* recruited his Army under *Mons*, and made Preparations for the Siege of *Oudenarde*; and the Prince of *Condé* put his into Quarters of Refreshment, on the other side of the *Sambre*, and dispos'd all Matters so, as to be in a Condition, with the Troops which the King sent him from *Franche Comté*,

118 *MEMOIRS of*

Comté, and what he could draw out of the Garrisons, to fall immediately upon the Enemy, on what side soever they should post their Army. And accordingly, having heard that they were attacking *Oudenarde*, he march'd thither with so much Order and Diligence, that before the Trenches had been open'd many Days, they perceiv'd him arrive all on a suddain upon the Hills, and thereupon immediately rais'd the Siege; and the *Spanish* Army had been that Day entirely routed, if the Count *de Soules* had not by a Counter-march, which he caus'd the Emperor's Army to make, and possess the Hills which were on our Left, giving some Disturbance to the Prince of *Condé*, who was apprehensive of being taken in the Flank, if he shou'd have fallen upon the *Spanish* Army. With this Action the *Campagne* ended in *Flanders*, whither the Enemy retir'd into Winter Quarters, after having seen themselves this Year seventy thousand strong, without being able to do any

any thing. The greatest part of our Army retir'd also into that Countrey; but the *Gendermerie*, to which I belong'd, and some Brigades of Horse and Foot receiv'd Orders to march into *Germany*, under the Command of the Count *de Saulx*, to strengthen *Monsieur Turenne's* Army, who had just given Battel to the *Germans* at *Zinsheim*, and had forc'd them to retire under the Canon of *Strasbourg*; but his Army was so weak, and the Horse, which fed only upon Leaves, in so bad a Condition, that it was a Miracle they were able to make head against the Enemies Army, which after it was join'd by the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, who commanded it, amounted to near fifty thousand Men.

We arriv'd upon the River *Sarre* towards the end of *October*. *Monsieur Turenne* was not willing that we shou'd join the Army; becaule in the Design which he had to repass *Lorraine*, in order to return into *Alsace* by *Belfort*, he had a mind to leave us to recruit
our

our selves thoroughly, that we might be in a Condition to make the Vanguard of his Army, and to give time to the Troops which he had with him, to recruit themselves in *Lorraine*. And in truth, one cannot too much admire his Conduct, and how he finish'd this *Campagne*. We tarried there some time upon the *Sarre*, under the Direction of the Count *de Saulx* since Duke of *Lesdiguières*, who, during our Stay there, caus'd the Siege to be rais'd of a little Fort call'd *Bliescastel*, attack'd by a Body of four or five Thousand of the Enemy. It was defended by a Captain of *Gascony*, who had his Company there: and what was very particular, we found this Officer reduc'd to such an Extremity, that he had already eat two of his Mules, and was ready to eat his Maid Servant, who had died by accident, and for that Purpose he had put her Body into a powdering Tub. This Man well deserv'd a Reward; but his Company being almost entirely lost in
the

the Castle, and he being poor, and having not wherewith to recruit them, the Year after he was inhumanly broken: so unjust, hard-hearted, and cruel was *Monsieur de Louvois*, then Secretary of State for the War, and most powerful first Minister. After this little Expedition, the Count *de Saulx* was call'd to attend *Monsieur Turenne*, by reason of the Illness of his Brother the *Marquis de Rogny*. I accompany'd him in that Journey; and we had the Grief to lose, he a Brother, an honest Man, that deserv'd his Love, and was beloved by him; and I, a very dear Friend, and a very good Companion. During this Journey, *Monsieur Turenne*, who had a great deal of Kindness for me, and had given me substantial Marks of it, tho' as yet I was but very young, ask'd me, how I thought this *Campagne* would end. After having desir'd to be excus'd mentioning my Opinion to him, as what would be of no weight in things of this Nature, by reason of my little Ex-
G perience,

122 MEMOIRS of

perience, especially with such a Person as he: and he still insisting that I should tell him, what I thought: I believe, said I, *that you will hinder the Enemy's Army from separating, and taking Winter-Quarters in the flat Country, and Villages of Alsace; but nothing will hinder them from putting all their Foot into the great Towns, such as Mulhausen, Colmar, Schelstat, and others, The Court is effectually resolv'd upon it; for they have sent to you often, as 'tis said, to separate your Army, intimating, that they were very well contented with what you had done; and that it was time to put the Troops into Winter-Quarters, and give them rest.*

He answer'd: *The Court is sometimes contented, when it ought not to be, and is not so when it ought to be. For my part, I am going the best way that I can possibly imagine: Trust me, there ought not one Soldier to be at rest in France, as long as there is a German on this side the Rhine in Alsace.*

Alsace. Only put your Troops into good Condition, and I'll make them my *Van-Guard*. I saw, as well as every one else, that we were going yet to have a great deal of Business, and a long Continuance of the *Campagne*. But every one being persuaded of the Advantage, and even of the Necessity there was to prolong it, all dispos'd themselves to it with a good Grace. Some time after that we were return'd upon the *Sarre*, where our Troops were in Quarters of Refreshment, the Count *de Saulx* receiv'd order from *Monsieur Turenne*, to join him with the Body under his Command. *Monsieur Turenne* took his March through *Lorraine* along the Mountains as far as *Betfort*. The Enemy imagin'd, he was retir'd, to put his Army into Winter-Quarters. They march'd into *Alsace*, put Troops into *Schelstat*, *Colmar*, and *Mulhausen*, and also posted one Part of their Horse, and of their Foot on the other side of the River *Ill*. While we march'd slowly, *Mon-*

sieur Turenne sent his Cavalry into *Lorraine*, where they caus'd some Disorder, but recruited themselves. The *Intendant* often complain'd to *Monsieur Turenne*, that the Country was pillaged; to which he gave no other Answer, but that he would give his Directions for observing better Order; and he had little regard to these Remonstrances; because the Business was to recruit his Army. During all this March, I was detach'd with four Hundred Horse, which I commanded under the *Chevalier* (since *Marquis*) *de Sourdis*, then Brigadier; and never was a Detachment more fatiguing; because we march'd always two Days Journey before the Army, which had no News but by us; and so at the end of *December*, during one of the severest Winters that has been felt, we spent all the Nights on Horseback. At last the Army arriv'd at *Betfort*. There *Monsieur Turenne* was inform'd of the Situation of the Enemy, who did not expect him, and thought, that
before

before they could reassemble from all their Quarters, he might fall upon some of them in their March, if he advanc'd diligently with the Body of his Army. Nor was he mistaken. At the Head of the *Gendarmerie*, one of the last Days of *December*, he arriv'd upon the Bank of the *Ill*, with seventeen or eighteen Hundred Horse, at the same time that four Thousand of the Enemy's Horse, being reassembled from the Quarters which they had on the other side of this River, were marching with all their Baggage to *Mulhausen*. He did not balance one moment, whether he should attack them or not. And because *Monsieur de Bournonville*, who commanded them, instead of marching directly towards two Fords, which there were in the River, posted his Right on this River, and his Left on the Hill, having a little *Ravine* before him, they passed the two Fords, the *Gendarmerie* that of the Right, and *Monsieur de Sourdis*, with the light Horse,

that of the Left, in the Enemy's Flank, of whom he routed some Squadrons; and at the same time the first Troops of the *Gendarmes*, having form'd themselves, bravely pass'd the little *Ravine*. I being at the Head of the *Scotch* and *English*, who made but one Squadron, had the Pleasure to see some of them engage three of the Emperor's *Cuirassiers*, and of his best Regiments, who after having made their Discharge, indeed near enough, turn'd their backs on a suddain, and were pursued as far as *Mulhausen*. Immediately I return'd to my Troop, which was behind, and got to them very opportunely: for I found them ready to fall upon other Squadrons of the Enemy, who follow'd them, as they march'd along the Valley. One of those Squadrons was that of the Duke of *Lorraine's* light Horse. His Troops perform'd better on that Occasion, than those of the Emperor; and the light Horse of *Burgundy*, commanded by the Count *de Broglio*, having charg'd

charg'd only the Right, and the Front of their Squadron, who were come out of the *Defilé*, and having made them give way, the Rere and Flank of the same Squadron took them again in the Flank and Rere. So that if I had not come up with the Company of the *Dauphin's Gendarmes*, they had been defeated: but we push'd this Squadron, and all that were come out of the *Defilé* with them, beyond the Hill. In that time *Monsieur Turenne* heard, that another Body of the Enemy, in which there were some Foot, were marching on the other side of the Hill. He fear'd lest this body, falling upon him, should find us in Disorder; and he rally'd us behind that little *Ravine*, of which I have spoken. The Count of *Lusignan*, who with a little Troop of *English* and *Scotch Gendarmes*, was returning from the Pursuit of those that fled, being on the other side of the *Ravine*; halted there some time, before three Troops of the Enemy's, who durst

not engage him. I had a mind to pass the *Ravine*, to support him with my Squadron ; but *Monsieur Turenne* hinder'd me ; and a moment after, the Count *de Lusignan*, having been join'd by two little Troops of Horse which came from *Mulhausen*, march'd to these three large Squadrons of the Enemy, who would not stay for him, but turn'd their backs. *Monsieur* — —, a Man of Quality, and a good and obliging Officer, did Wonders in this Action ; yet he could never get to be *Brigadier* : *Monsieur Louvois* not caring to promote any but little Men, or such as, if they were of Condition, yet made themselves, as I may say, his Slaves.

After this Fight, *Monsieur Turenne* continued his March streight to *Colmar*, where he was told, that all the Enemy's Army were to rendezvous, and had left behind them three Hundred of their Dragoons in the Castle of *Ruffack* ; judging rightly, that those would not escape him, when he
 had

had put the Army to Flight. He arriv'd two Days before the Feast of the *Epiphany*, within half a League of *Colmar*, where the Elector of *Brandenbourg* had his Ammunition and Provisions. The Enemy had *Colmar* on their Left, and *Durkheim* on their Right, but their Army, though great, could extend itself but half a League from *Durkheim*, into which Place they had thrown three Hundred Dragoons. For the rest, all their Front was cover'd with the Rivulet of *Durkheim*, fordable in some Places, but not every where. There were Vineyards and great Vine-props where it was troublesome even for the Foot to march. *Monsieur Turenne* being resolv'd to attack the Enemy, gave his Orders over Night; and the Army being encamp'd in Order of Battel, he began to march at break of Day, upon the Eve of the *Epiphany*; instead of taking the streight way to the Rivulet, and to *Colmar*, he put all the Army into two Columns in the Valley of

130 MEMOIRS of

Durkheim, as if he had design'd to climb the Hill. No Man in the least conceiv'd, what was his Design: for he seem'd to expose his Flank to the Enemy, who were able to ford the Rivulet, as I have said, in several Places, and fall upon him, before he was drawn up in Order of Battel. This disturb'd me, as it did many others; and as I had the Liberty of telling him, what came into my Head; being a Person of no Consequence, and, if I may presume to say it, in his Friendship, I got to the Head of the Column, and said to him: *I ask your Pardon, Sir, if I presume to tell you, that we are all uneasy, on account of the March you oblige us to take, and to see that we are going to run our Heads against this Hill, and are all upon one another in the Valley.* He made me this Answer: *Indeed you are not in the wrong: but I imagin'd, that the Enemy's Army, which has the Rivulet of Durkheim before them, and Colmar on their Left,*

Left, where their Ammunition and Provisions are, would not abandon fo good a Post as that, to fall upon me, nor pafs the Rivulet: that be- fides, they would not leave Colmar, where they have their Magazines, for fear that I fhould throw my felf on that fide, and make my felf Mafter of them. That notwithstanding they were not ftrong enough to hold Durkheim, any otherwife than by a Detachment, and that therefore in poffeffing my felf of that Post, as I am going to attempt to do immediately, I fhall open a Passage into their Flank; which will oblige them to march their Army back, and fight me, where the Ground will be of equal Advantage to us both. Accordingly that moment he caus'd Durkheim, in which there were three Hundred Dragoons, to be attack'd, and took it. But the Passage to it being only a Defilé, through which there was no paffing above four a breaft at moft, and it being neceffary to have one

132 *MEMOIRS of*

that was larger, he order'd Bridges to be laid over the Rivulet, half a League below *Durkheim*, over against a Place, where the Valley grew wider, both on the Enemy's side, and ours. The Enemy march'd thither with great part of their Infantry; and ours, who a little before Night oblig'd the Enemy to quit the other side of the River, came to a very warm Engagement with those, who had posted themselves in this Place, to hinder our Descent. The Elector of *Brandenbourg* seeing *Monsieur Turenne* on his Flank, thought it proper to retreat during the Night, and we perceiv'd at break of Day, that they had abandon'd their Camp, and consequently *Alsace*, because beyond *Strasbourg* there was nothing to subsist them; since they had for a long time been eating up all that Country. *Monsieur Turenne*, contented to have made them decamp, order'd the Count *de Roye* to observe their March, without pursuing them, and a few days after receiv'd the News, that

that they had all repass'd the *Rhine* on the Bridge at *Strasbourg*. The old Duke of *Lorraine*, naturally a Satyrical Wit, who had stay'd at *Strasbourg*, and valued himself upon the ill Success of the Armes of the Allies, said, That *one Prince by the Grace of the King, had oblig'd five Princes by the Grace of God to repass the Rhine, and that upon the same Bridge where Seventy Thousand Germans, arm'd for the common Cause, had pass'd this Year in his Sight.*

Thus ended this *Campagne*, the most glorious, I believe, that *Monsieur Turenne* ever made; as it was his last: for he was kill'd in the beginning of the succeeding *Campagne*. I have describ'd it at large; because I always thought, that it was that which had decided the Success of this War, which was not concluded till the Year 1678, by the Peace of *Nimeguen*, the most honourable that *France* had ever known to that Time.

134 *MEMOIRS of*

We must not forget to speak of the Death of the *Chevalier de Rohan*, who was beheaded in the Month of *November*, *An. 1674*. He was the only Man of Quality, to the Day of my writing this, that under the Reign of this King, was put to Death for Treason. He was of the illustrious House of *Rohan*, which, as well as that of *Bouillon*, has in these last Days, had the Rank of Princes in *France*. He was the handsomest Man of his time, of the greatest Mien, and above all, remarkable for the Shape of his Legs. This Particularity may perhaps appear little; but the Gifts of Nature, inconsiderable as they may seem, are not to be despis'd, when one has them in their utmost Perfection. In all other Regards he was a Compound of contrary Qualities: he had sometimes a great deal of Wit, and often very little. The Heat of his Temper furnish'd him with what they call Jests. He had Pride, Arrogance, and great Courage in Action: But with this, he
had

had Weakness, and ill Conduct; as he shew'd in an Affair which he had with the *Chevalier de Lorraine*, who had more Courage than he: For he had said, that one Day being on Horseback, he had struck the *Chevalier* with his Cane; a thing which he disown'd, after telling many Lies about it. This same *Chevalier de Rohan* had formerly had an Affair with the King, when young, and under the Guardianship of Cardinal *Richelieu*, which gain'd him great Reputation. The Matter was this, in a few Words.

It was the Custom to play very high at the Cardinal's. The *Chevalier de Rohan*, having lost a great deal, owed the King a large Sum. It had been agreed to pay only in *Louis d'Or*, and having paid the King seven or eight Hundred of them, he tender'd him about two Hundred *Spanish* Pistols: The King would not receive them; and said he must have *Louis d'Or*. Hereupon the *Chevalier*, in some warmth, took the two Hundred *Spanish*

nish Pistols, and threw them out of the Window; saying, *Since your Majesty will not take them, they are good for nothing.* The King relenting it, complain'd to the Cardinal of this Affront; and the Cardinal, as his Governour, said to him; *Sir, the Chevalier de Rohan has play'd like a King, and you, like the Chevalier de Rohan.* This Affair gave the *Chevalier* some Reputation with the Publick; and the King, notwithstanding his Pride and Self-love, had an Opinion of the *Chevalier*, of which he might have made advantage, if he had known how to do it. One Argument of the Truth of what I say, is, that after being guilty of great Irregularity, many Extravagances, and a Contempt of the Court shewn upon several Occasions, the King was yet pleas'd to grant him the Place of Colonel of the Guards, when it came out of the Family of *Grammont*; a Favour, of which if he had known how to make a right use, it had secur'd him against a tragical Death.

This

This Gentleman, such as I have now describ'd him, overwhelm'd with Debts, ill at the Court, at a loss how to manage, and susceptible of vast, vain, and false *Ideas*, however found a Person like himself, with this difference, that he had more Sense, and more Courage to look Death in the Face. It was *Monsieur la Truaumont*, an old Officer, who had conceiv'd hopes, that if he made use of the *Chevalier de Rohan*, as of a *Phantom*, he might raise a great Fortune, by bringing the *Hollanders* into *Normandy*, of which Countrey himself was, and where he had many Friends. The Discontent of the People of *France*, and the Disposition they were in to take up Arms, in the Provinces of *Guienne* and *Bretagne*, confirm'd him in his Opinion. These Gentlemen made use of a *Dutch* School master; and their Treaty was actually concluded and ratified. The *Hollanders* embark'd Troops upon their Fleet; and during this *Campagne*, kept at no great Distance

stance from the Coasts of *Normandy*, where they were to be receiv'd. The States of *Holland* had agreed, among other things, that when all their Preparations were ready, they would cause certain News to be put into their Gazette; and the News was accordingly put into it. *Monsieur de la Truau-mont* set out to get his Friends together in *Normandy*, but under another Pretext, being unwilling wholly to discover the Plot to them. One of his Nephews, styl'd the *Chevalier de Pre-ault*, had also engag'd in this Design, *Madame de Villiers*, otherwise call'd *Bordeville*, a Woman of Quality, with whom he was in love, and she with him, who had an Estate in that Countrey: and the *Chevalier de Ro-han* was at last upon the Point of setting out himself, when he was arrested, and carry'd to the *Bastille*. The King at the same time sent *Monsieur Brissac*, Major of his Guards, to *Roüen*, to seize *la Truau-mont*. He, without the least Commotion, said to *Monsieur Brissac*,

Brissac, his old Friend, *I'll follow you presently; let me only go into my Closet for something I want.* *Monsieur Brissac* was so foolish to let him go, and was very much astonished, to see him come out with a Pair of Pistols. He call'd the Guards, that were at the Chamber Door, who, instead of disarming, and taking him alive, fired upon him, and gave him a mortal Wound, of which he died the Day after, before the first President could have time to examine him by Torture, and consequently without confessing any thing. This Incident might in the Sequel have sav'd the *Chevalier de Roban's* Life, if, after denying every thing to his other Judges, he had not foolishly confess'd the whole Matter to *Monsieur Besons*; who got his Secret out of him, by promising him his Pardon, an Action unworthy of a Judge. The School-master was hang'd; and the *Chevalier de Roban* had his Head cut off, together with the *Chevalier de Preault*, and *Madame de Villiers*,

140 *MEMOIRS of*

Villiers, who died with more Resolution than the *Chevalier de Rohan* himself: for at first he was astonish'd, and betray'd some Weakness, as soon as he could suspect what his Destiny would be: but he recover'd himself afterwards, and receiv'd his Death with Resignation and Constancy. He had been very much in favour with the Ladies; and in the last place, with *Madame de Mazarin* *, the Cardinal's Niece and Heiress, who was the finest Woman in *Europe*, and continued to be so till her Death. She had left her Husband to follow him: and if the Deformity of the Husband, and the good Mien of her Gallant, can excuse a Wife in this Case, she was certainly to be excus'd. He had also had the good Graces of *Madame de Tiange*, Sister of *Madame de Montespan*,; and it was said, that he had been in love with *Madame de Montespan* her self.

* This is the *Duchess of Mazarine*, who lived many Years in England, and died not long since at Chelsea.

Though

Though she had not answer'd his Passion, she was very sensibly affected with his Death: but she had not the Courage to ask for his Pardon. The King, as I have heard say, was under a Temptation to grant it of himself: but *Monsieur le Tellier*, and *Monsieur Louvois*, represented to his Majesty, that in the present Conjunction it was necessary to make an Example; and that he could not make a Great one at a less Expence; because the *Chevalier de Rohan* was of great Birth, and yet without Consequence, having no Friends; and being ill with his Mother, and all those of his Family, no one of whom durst throw himself at the King's Feet in his Behalf. This appear'd very ill in the Eyes of the Publick. His Mother was very much blam'd: so was his Cousin *Madame de Soubize*, who was at that time very well with the King, as was pretended, tho' their commerce was conceal'd. *Madame de Montespan*, who, as I have said, had been long declar'd the King's Mistress,

stress, was reproach'd with the same Blame upon this Occasion ; which was not the only one, in which she has shewn a Temper, that has little Sense of either Compassion or Gratitude. I may perhaps have too much enlarg'd upon this Death ; but this Incident appear'd to me not improper, to shew in part the Spirit of that Time.



CHAP. VIII.

The Continuation of the Events of the War, and Intrigues of the Court, from the End of the Year 1675, to the Peace of Nimeguen, concluded in the Year 1678.

AT the beginning of the Year 1674, the King resolv'd vigorously to attack *Flanders* : and not being able to do it, without drawing his Army
from

from *Holland*, by reason of the great Forces which the Emperor had upon the *Rhine*, as well as the *Spaniards* and the *Dutch* in *Flanders*, he order'd Marshal *de Bellefonds*, who commanded in *Holland*, to put into *Grave* the Ammunition and Provisions, and the Cannon of the Places that were abandon'd, and to bring back his Army; the Command of which, *Monsieur Louvois* had caus'd to be given to him, to remove him from the Court, and expose him to all the bad Offices, which he shou'd find Opportunity to render him: For it is almost impossible, that a Minister in credit with his Master, shou'd not easily find means to hurt a General at a Distance, expos'd not only to ill Events, but even to a sinister Interpretation of what Good he does. This Marshal abounding in his own Sense, extremely positive, and incapable of Submission, soon gave opportunity to the ill Offices of the Minister. He long evaded the repeated Orders sent him to leave *Holland*. He pretended

pretended to have good Reasons for not observing them; and that the King was ill advis'd. This perhaps was true: but *Monsieur Louvois* gave the King to understand, that hereby the Marshal disconcerted his Projects; and that the chief Quality of a General, was an entire Submission to the Orders of the Court. Hereupon Marshal *Bellefonds* was treated as a Fool, and even as a Criminal. He obey'd however, but too late, as was pretended. He arriv'd at *Maestricht* on the other side of the *Maes*, at the same time that the King arriv'd with his Army on this side. General *Spaar*, who had assembled a Body to fall upon him in his March, coming too near to *Maestricht*, because he did not think, that the King's Army would arrive there so soon, was pursued a long time; and had like to have been beaten, the very Day we came near *Maestricht*. Afterwards Orders were sent to Marshal *Bellefonds*, tho' already disgraced, to lay Siege to *Navaigne*, a pretty strong

strong Castle within two Leagues of that City. When this Castle was taken, he was commanded to retire into *Normandy*, to his own Estate; and because at a Dinner where he was with some Courtiers, at the Count *de Tallard's*, at which I was likewise, some condoled with him his Misfortune; this being told to *Monsieur Louvois*, he would have made it criminal in all of us that were present; and actually seven or eight Letters *de Cachet* were written, and ready to be sign'd, for our Banishment: but *Monsieur St. Poüange* hinder'd him from it, tho' with great Difficulty; so untractable was that Man, and so cruel and malicious. Tho' Marshal *Bellefonds* afterwards return'd to Court; and to the Place of First Master of the Household, which he was oblig'd to sell; the King gave him afterwards that of First Querry to the *Dauphiness*, with the Survivance to his Son: Nay, tho' he has since even commanded the Army in *Catalonia*; yet for all this, he was never restor'd

H

to

146 *MEMOIRS of*

to the King's Favour; to whom it frequently happens, to be fond of certain Persons, and afterwards to quit them without reason; the Character of a dangerous Mind in a Man that has Power.

The rest of this *Campagne* was not fortunate, if you except the taking of *Limbourg*, which the Prince of *Condé* caus'd to be besieg'd, by his Son the Duke of *Bourbon*: After which, all that the Armies did, was to observe each other's Motions in *Flanders*, without undertaking any thing on either side. In *Germany*, *Monsieur Turenne* pass'd the *Rhine* with a little Army, which his Enemy, *Monsieur Louvois*, suffer'd to want many things that were necessary. This did not hinder him gaining Ground upon *Monsieur de Montecuculli*, and attempting to make him repass the Mountains, tho' *Strasbourg* was for him. Some thought he would gain his Point; others, that he would not. However he join'd the Enemies at *Sasbach*, and
finding

finding *Monsieur de Montecuculli* posted on the other side of a narrow Valley, upon a rising Ground, he possess'd himself of that which was opposite to it, resolv'd to engage them if it were possible. But the Enemy having made themselves Masters of *Sasbach*, where there was a Tower Canon proof, *Monsieur Turenne*, who had a mind to have this Post attack'd, galopp'd to the Head of the Troops to view it. He had hardly got to the Top of a little Hill, when he receiv'd a Canon Shot in the middle of his Body. This Shot, before it reach'd him, had taken off the Arm of *Monsieur St. Hilarie*, Lieutenant General of the Artillery, who was at his Side; and his Son falling into Tears, to see his Father in that Condition, the Father shew'd him *Monsieur Turenne* dead, and said, *It is not me that you ought to lament, my Son, but 'tis that great Man, whose Loss is irreparable*: a remarkable Expression; which shews how much Power real Merit has upon Men

that are truly Virtuous. Thus expir'd in the Height of his Glory, not only the greatest Soldier of this Age, and of many others, but also the honestest Man, and the best Subject. In my Judgment I must own, that of all the Men whom I have known, he seem'd to me to come nearest to Perfection.

It is not to be imagin'd, into what Consternation his Death put the Army. It was resolv'd to march back, and repass the *Rhine*. But none was willing to take upon himself the Charge of the Rere, a Post of great Difficulty, by reason of the streight and troublesome Ways. We retir'd in the Night with much Disorder. *Monsieur de Montecuculli* came upon our Rere, and the *Marquis de Vaubrun*, who some Days before had been dangerously wounded with a Musket Shot in the Foot, mounted on Horse-back to take again, as the eldest Lieutenant General, the Command of the King's Army; which caus'd some Confusion. The Count *de Lorge*, *Monsieur Turenne's* Nephew,

phew, who was the eldest Officer next to *Monsieur de Vaubrun*, and was esteem'd more capable of commanding, claim'd the Pre-eminence. The Matter in Dispute was, to repass the *Rhine* before an Enemy, both stronger, and grown bolder by the Death of *Monsieur Turenne*. In this Condition the *Marquis de Vaubrun* had already made half the Army pass, when the rest were vigorously attack'd by *Monsieur de Montecuculli* on one side, and the Prince of *Lorraine* on the other. There our Troops shew'd, that the Loss of their General had not abated their Courage. The Count *de Lorge* did what might be expected from a great Commander. We made our Troops return, which had repass'd the *Rhine*. *Monsieur de Vaubrun* himself, with his Foot wounded, and his Leg upon the Saddle, charg'd at the Head of the Squadrons, like the bravest Man upon Earth, as he was, and was there also killed with many others. In a Word, our Army behav'd themselves so well,

150 MEMOIRS of

that the Enemy, being repuls'd, left them at liberty to repass the *Rhine*. The Duke of *Vendôme*, then very young, had his Thigh shot through with a Musket Bullet at the Head of his Regiment; and upon that Occasion, gave several Instances of that Courage, and of those Talents, with which he has since, to his great Glory, commanded the King's Armies in the most difficult Conjunctions.

The News of *Monsieur Turenne's* Death was but just come to Court, when we heard that Marshal *Crequi*, who was look'd upon as almost the only Person, who could in some manner repair the Loss of that great Man, had, by his Fault, lost a Battel near *Treves*, and thereby left all the Frontier open to the Enemy. This ambitious Man thought it wou'd be a considerable Step to his Glory and Advancement, if at the time when *Monsieur Turenne* had been just kill'd, he could give some Check to the Duke of *Zell*, and the old Duke of *Lorraine*,

raine, who were marching towards him with an Army superior to his. In this Thought he let them pass over the Bridge of *Conserbruk* in so great Number, that when they were pass'd, they entirely defeated him. It is true, that the Right Wing, where the Marshal was, routed the Enemy several times; but his Left, commanded by the Count *de la Marc*, who was killed there, tho' posted most advantageously, beginning to fly almost before they fought, the Right was encompass'd, and almost all the Infantry lost. In this Disorder Marshal *Crequi* acted the Part of one that was above the rest. He imagin'd that this Army, which was come opportunely to free the Elector of *Treves* from the Oppression he was under, would certainly go and besiege *Treves*: and he found means to throw himself into that Place, to defend it. He would probably have succeeded in that Undertaking, had it not been for the Negligence and Treachery of a Party of Foot; who, as I may so say, deliver'd

him up a Prisoner of War to the Enemy. However, he had the Pleasure to shew by this Action, that in the greatest Disgrace, he was capable of finding Relief in his Courage; and that he was not dejected with Disappointments: a sublime Degree of Virtue found in few Commanders; and which alone can make their *Elogium*.

After this Battel was lost, and Marshal *Turenne* kill'd, the King, to repair that Loss, made seven Marshals of *France*; which gave occasion to Madam *Cornuel*, a Woman of Wit, fourscore Years of Age, and who had always been famous for her Jest, to say, That the King had chang'd his *Louis d'Or* into *Louis* of five Pence a piece. The Duke of *Duras*, elder Brother of the Count *de Lorge*, was of this Number; and was sent to command the Army in *Alsace*, before the Prince of *Condé* cou'd get thither. Every Body was surpriz'd, that the Count *de Lorge*, who had just done a very great and brave Action at *Altenheim*, was not made Marshal of *France*.

Monsieur L. M. D. L. F. 153

France, as well as the rest. But he was ill with *Monsieur Louvois*, with whom he reconcil'd himself afterwards, and thereby soon procur'd himself that Dignity, of which he was otherwise very worthy.

The *Marquis de Rochefort* Captain of the *Gardes du Corps* for some Years, the only Friend of *Monsieur Louvois*, for whom he had any real Consideration; a Man of Sense and Courage, but a fearful and irresolute General, and of no great Experience, was also made Marshal of *France* at this Promotion. It is not known, whether *Monsieur Louvois* was not, in the *Marquis's* Life time, in Love with his Wife: But it is certain, that he was so after his Death, and that this Passion continued as long as *Monsieur Louvois* lived. It is pretended, that old *Monsieur le Tellier* had also been in Love with her, when she was new married: and many have imputed to that Passion both the Father's and the Son's Aversion for me. For

154 *MEMOIRS of* —

they both imagin'd, that I was in love with her, and was better treated, than I was in Reality. There was more *coquetterie* on my side; as well as on her's, than of real Affection. However, that was the Rock on which my Fortune was split, and what drew upon me Persecution from *Monsieur de Louvois*, which oblig'd me at last to quit the Service. But it is very rare, that one is young and wise at the same time. I own that I was not so upon this Occasion, nor on many others. Before the Marshal *de Rochefort's* Lady, *Monsieur Louvois* had been desperately in Love with *Madame du Fresnoy*, the Wife of one of his *Commis*, and one of the finest Women of her time. She, as they say, jilted him, treated him like a Child, and made him do a Hundred ridiculous things : but because he knew perfectly well, how to induce the King to place Confidence in him, who on his side did many things unseasonably for *Madame de Montespan*, this Amour

was

Monsieur L. M. D. L. F. 155

was so far from hurting *Monsieur Louvois*, that a Post of Honour was found out for this Gentlewoman, wholly new in *France*, that of Bed-Chamber-Woman to the Queen, form'd upon the Model of thole in *England*. A Place which gave *Madame du Fresnoy* all the Entries to, and Prerogatives of the Ladies of the first Quality, though she was a *Commis* Wife, and an Apothecary's Daughter. I do not think this Digression useleſs, to ſhew what were the Manners, and how great the Proſtitution of that time, which I ſhould ſtill ſet in a better Light, if I ſhould mention in particular, as it is true, with how much Application the greateſt Perſons of both Sexes made their Court to this Woman, who on her ſide treated them with all the Insolence that could be expected from Beauty and Proſperity, join'd to meannefs of Birth and want of Senſe.

To return to the Affairs of the War. The Prince of *Condé* went, towards the End of the *Campagne*, to take the

H 6 Command

156 MEMOIRS of

Command of the Army in *Alsace*, which he found retrench'd in a commodious Camp, but in very bad Condition. As soon as *Monsieur Montecuculli* was for laying Siege to *Sabern*, and marching afterwards to *Hagenau*, he did not fail to march towards him, and hinder him from settling himself in those Parts: but he foresaw, that if he fortified the Post of *Lauterbourg*, he might attack *Philipsbourg* the next Year, without any Possibility of its being reliev'd. Accordingly the Marshal *de Rochefort*, who commanded that Winter in *Lorraine*, and the three Bishopricks, having suffer'd the *Germans* to establish themselves in that Post, it was impossible the Year after for the Marshal *de Luxembourg* with a great Army to relieve *Philipsbourg*, which the young Duke of *Lorraine* took before his Face; an Action that has since occasion'd many Misfortunes to *France*, what with the Charge we have been at to retake it, and that having restor'd it again by the Peace
of

Monsieur L. M. D. L. F. 157

of *Riswick*, we have thereby depriv'd our selves of all Entrance into *Germany*, and of all means of supporting our Allies there. And here again we must admire the good Sense of *Monsieur Turenne*, who always look'd upon this Place as of most Importance to the State, and said, it were better to lose a Province, than *Philipsbourg*. After we had taken *Strasbourg*, we were of another Opinion : but the Defeat at *Hochstet* has evidently shewn since, what a difference there is between the Passage into *Germany* which *Strasbourg* affords us, and that we had through *Philipsbourg*. Notwithstanding this Place was lost by the fault, either of the Marshal *de Rochefort*, or of *Monsieur Louvois* : and I believe the Regret of it cost the Marshal his Life. It is true, the Town defended itself, as long as it was possible, and at last did not surrender without the King's Order : The *Germans* employ'd all the *Campagne* of the Year 1676 in this Expedition ; and in the same *Campagne*

pagne the Prince of Orange in *Flanders* attack'd *Maestricht*. During this Siege we took *Aires*, under the Command of Marshal *D'Humeres*; after which he sent back the greatest part of his Troops to Marshal *Schomberg*, and we went to raise the Siege of *Maestricht*. The Prince of Orange imagin'd, that by posting himself at the *Defilé* of the five Stars, he shou'd interrupt Marshal *Schomberg* in his Retreat, and engage him with advantage, before he could get back to *Charleroy*, and our Towns; but the Marshal bravely repass'd the *Mebaigue* in his Sight; and the *Campagne* ended soon after.

At the beginning of this *Campagne* the King lost the best Opportunity he ever had, of gaining a Battel. He had advanc'd as far as *Condé*, while the Duke of *Orleans* laid Siege to *Bouchain*. The Prince of Orange thought, that by suddenly passing the *Scheld* under *Valenciennes*, he might fall upon *Mons*, before the King could be able

ble to relieve it : but his Majesty having timely notice, both of his Design, and of his March, left *Condé* in the Evening, and on the Morrow had pass'd the *Scheld*, before all the Enemies Army was arriv'd at *Valenciennes*. The false Step which we made was, we encamp'd all along upon the Bank of that River, for the Convenience of the Water : for we might have plac'd our Right there, and our Left at the Wood of the Abbey of *Vigogne* ; and by that means have been ready at break of Day to march towards the Enemy in order of Battel : whereas a great deal of Time was lost, before our Left were advanc'd as far as our Right ; after which we were oblig'd again to march in Columns to the Farm of *Hurtebise*, which is within Canon Shot of *Valenciennes*, before we could be drawn up into Order of Battel.

As fast as we drew up, we saw the Enemy's Army arrive on the Hill of *Valenciennes*, leaving that City on their Left. We were form'd long before

fore they were all arriv'd; because their Bridge on the *Scheld* had been broken down: besides this, they wanted room in their Rere for their second Line, having nothing behind them but hollow Ways and *Ravines*, where they could make no Movement; and our Left broke in upon them. In this Situation all those who knew the Country, made no doubt, but they would be destroy'd, and that Day wou'd put a glorious End to the War. The Marshal *de Lorge* told the King, that he wou'd engage to put them in disorder with only the Brigade of the Guards *du Corps*: but *Monsieur Louvois*, equally timorous and insolent, had no mind the War shou'd be so soon finish'd; and whether he was in earnest afraid for the King's Person, or for his own, who had so many Enemies, that he wou'd not perhaps have been safe in the Tumult of a Battel, he order'd the Matter so, that when the King ask'd Marshal *Schomberg's* Advice, the Marshal answer'd, that since his Majesty was
come

Monsieur L. M. D. L. F. 161

come to hinder the Prince of *Orange* from relieving *Bouchain*, it was an Advantage considerable enough, to stop there, and to take that Town before his Face, without exposing himself to the Uncertainty of a Battel. The King exprels'd some Regret afterwards, that he had not made better use of an Opportunity, which his good Fortune had that Day offer'd him: tho' he had miss'd another no less favourable; as shall be mention'd in its proper Place.

The following Year 1677, he made amends for this Oversight, by taking the Field in the Month of *March*, and making himself Master of the three strongest, and most considerable Towns and Fortifications of the *Low Countries*, before the ordinary time of opening the *Campagne*. He began with *Valenciennes*, where his Troops, having just possess'd themselves of a Half-Moon, enter'd by a Draw-Bridge and a false Port, and so became Masters of the Town. The King was not a little surpriz'd, when the *Grand Prior*,

162 MEMOIRS of

Prior, his *Aid de Camp* that Day, who had enter'd the Town one of the first, came to bring him the News. The Duke of *Orleans* attack'd *St. Omer*, and the King, *Cambray*: These two Conquests were not so easy. The Prince of *Orange* march'd to the Relief of the former with thirty thousand Men; but the Duke of *Orleans* engag'd, and defeated him at *Cassel*: after which the King, at his ease, carried on the Siege of the Town and Citadel of *Cambray*, and return'd gloriously to *Versailles*, not without some Heart burning, that the Duke of *Orleans* had gain'd a Battel more than he. It was observ'd after the taking of *Cambray*, when his Majesty came to see *St. Omer*, and the Duke of *Orleans*, who was there, that little was mention'd of that Battel in their Conversation; that the King had not the Curiosity to go see the Place of the Fight; and that he was not well pleas'd to hear the People, all along the Road, cry out, *Long live the King, and the Duke*

Monsieur L. M. D. L. F. 163

of Orleans who won the Battel: and accordingly as this was the first, so was it the last which that Prince won: for, as was foretold from that Day by Men of Understanding, he was never all his Life after, at the Head of an Army. Yet he was naturally intrepid, and affable without Meanness: He loved Order, was capable of Direction, and of following good Advice. He had so many Faults, that I cannot but think my self oblig'd in Conscience to do justice to his good Qualities.

The three Conquests, of which I have been speaking, made the *Hollanders* think seriously of a Peace. The Meeting for that Treaty was at *Nimeguen*; and we may say, it was there, that the King appear'd Sovereign Master of all *Europe*. It was almost in his Power to choose, either to enslave, or to give it Peace; and he was at the Height of his Glory!; from which he greatly fell afterwards, by hearing and following bad Counsels.

At

162 MEMOIRS of

Prior, his *Aid de Camp* that Day, who had enter'd the Town one of the first, came to bring him the News. The Duke of *Orleans* attack'd *St. Omer*, and the King, *Cambray*: These two Conquests were not so easy. The Prince of *Orange* march'd to the Relief of the former with thirty thousand Men; but the Duke of *Orleans* engag'd, and defeated him at *Cassel*: after which the King, at his ease, carried on the Siege of the Town and Citadel of *Cambray*, and return'd gloriously to *Versailles*, not without some Heart burning, that the Duke of *Orleans* had gain'd a Battel more than he. It was observ'd after the taking of *Cambray*, when his Majesty came to see *St. Omer*, and the Duke of *Orleans*, who was there, that little was mention'd of that Battel in their Conversation; that the King had not the Curiosity to go see the Place of the Fight; and that he was not well pleas'd to hear the People, all along the Road, cry out, *Long live the King, and the Duke*
of

Monsieur L. M. D. L. F. 163

of Orleans who won the Battel: and accordingly as this was the first, so was it the last which that Prince won: for, as was foretold from that Day by Men of Understanding, he was never all his Life after, at the Head of an Army. Yet he was naturally intrepid, and affable without Meanness: He loved Order, was capable of Direction, and of following good Advice. He had so many Faults, that I cannot but think my self oblig'd in Conscience to do justice to his good Qualities.

The three Conquests, of which I have been speaking, made the *Hollanders* think seriously of a Peace. The Meeting for that Treaty was at *Nimeguen*; and we may say, it was there, that the King appear'd Sovereign Master of all *Europe*. It was almost in his Power to choose, either to enslave, or to give it Peace; and he was at the Height of his Glory!; from which he greatly fell afterwards, by hearing and following bad Counsels.

At

164 *MEMOIRS of*

At that time he had reason to prefer Peace before War, when himself was the Sovereign Disposer of it. But because *England* began to stir, and could not be contented, that all the King's Conquests shou'd be confirm'd to him by the Peace; it was resolv'd, at the beginning of the *Campagne* 1678, to go and take *Ghendt*; and it must be said, to the Honour of *Monsieur Louvois*, that all the Measures for this important Conquest were so well concerted, and so punctually executed, that the great Design succeeded, and was immediately followed by the taking of *Ipres*: Insomuch, that as soon as *Monsieur Barillon*, the *French* Ambassador in *England*, had it in his Power to offer to King *Charles* the II^d. the Restitution of *Ghendt* by the Treaty of Peace, it was immediately concluded, and signed at *Nimeguen*. By this Treaty, the most glorious that *France* perhaps ever made, the King oblig'd himself to see restor'd to *Sweden*, all that the Elector of *Brandenbourg*

bourg had taken from that Crown during this War; in which the *Swede* had been almost entirely driven out of *Germany*: And accordingly, in that same Year the King's Armies re-establish'd *Sweden* in all its Estates: an Action that gave the finishing Lustre to this glorious Peace of *Nimeguen*; which the King and the whole *French* Nation, may look upon as the *Epoque* of their Grandeur; having done nothing since, but what has conduc'd to their Ruin, and to the miserable Condition into which they are, and are like to fall, unless, as we use to say, the Hand of Providence interpose.

The Prince of *Orange*, who could not agree to the Peace, did an Action which evidently shew'd his elevated and enterprizing *Genius*. He had the Peace sign'd in his Pocket: but he conceal'd it from his Army, and attack'd *Monsieur de Luxembourg* under the City of *Mons*. He had like to have routed him: but that General, tho' he little expected to be attack'd, defended

166 *MEMOIRS of*

defended himself bravely, and the Peace was publish'd the Day after.

Monsieur de Luxembourg having at that time desir'd, that I should be made *Brigadier*; since many others, who had done less Service than I, as the *Marquis de Broglie* and his Brother, were already *Marshals de Camp*; *Monsieur Louvois* answer'd me coldly, that I was in the right; but that that would signify nothing. This rude Answer, and coming from the Heart of a Minister, then able to do what he would, who had long hated me, and to whom I would never make my Court; together with the ill Posture of my Affairs, my unactive Temper, and the Love I had for a Lady that deserv'd it; all this together, made me take the Resolution to leave my Post of Under-Lieutenant of the *Dauphin's Gens d'Armes*; whom I had commanded, I may say, with Honour, almost continually from the raising of my Company; with the King's Permission therefore I sold this Place for ninety thousand

Monsieur L. M. D. L. F. 167

thousand Livers, to the *Marquis de Sevigné*, Ensign of the same Company. It was thus that the Hatred of *Monsieur Louvois* made me quit the Service, because I thought that Man would never die. He obliged many others to quit likewise, who were much more considerable than I, and among others, the Duke of *Lesdiguières*, one of the greatest Noblemen of *France*, and of the most capable to do Service.



C H A P. IX.

The most considerable Passages at Court, from the Peace of Nimeguen, to the War which began with the Siege of Philipsbourg, at the End of the Year 1688.

IT may be said, that after the Peace of *Nimeguen*, the Dominion of
France

168
170

MEMOIRS of

France was as it were establish'd over all *Europe*; and that the *French* King was become the Arbiter of all in this Part of the World. His Kingdom had still all its Force, and was going to acquire more. In a word, his Dominion was become an inevitable Prejudice to the neighbouring Nations: and if his Majesty had pleas'd, this Dominion, from forc'd, as it was, had become voluntary. Every People would have consented to submit to him, if he had shew'd any Moderation and Equity; and had appear'd willing to maintain with Sincerity the glorious Peace he had just made. Quite the contrary has happen'd: but before we come to the particular Events, we must enquire into the Cause of them.

The same Spirit, and the same Design of supplanting *Monsieur Colbert*, which had induc'd *Monsieur Louvois* to undertake the Wars with *Holland*, was the Cause, that he could not persuade himself punctually to observe a Peace, which, in some measure, would
render

render his Ministry useless. He knew the *Genius* of his Master, affected only with present Services, and little mindful of such as were pass'd, as *Monsieur Colbert* experienc'd. Thus *Monsieur Louvois*, a Man that excell'd in the Execution, but whose Views were not extensive enough for the Government of a large Kingdom, and who besides was haughty and tyrannical, imagin'd, that he might with Impunity make new Conquests during the Peace; and no Man either dare, or be able to resist him; and from that time treated all the foreign Ministers as imperiously, not to say rudely, as he did the King's Subjects.

He began therefore by establishing a Chamber at *Metz*, for reuniting to the Crown all that had ever been dismember'd from it; and he cited several Sovereign Princes thither. Thus there was scarce any one, who could reckon upon possessing his Estate in quiet; which in the Sequel taught all *Europe*, that to balance this Power,

170 *MEMOIRS of*

it was necessary for the Publick Safety, that other Nations shou'd join in a League against it.

Another Reason of the Diminution of this Power was, the way taken to destroy the *Protestant* Religion in *France*. Indeed the very Design of destroying it was not well grounded: for it must be observ'd, that the *Protestant* Princes and States had always been for us, against the House of *Austria*; and we should not have provok'd the only true Allies we could have. But if we had a mind to pull down, and by little and little extinguish that Religion in *France*, this might have been done gently, and by length of Time, and no Man have complain'd of it: and this was the Design of Cardinal *Richelieu*, which was not follow'd: and it has been said, that Father *la Chaise*, the King's Confessor, was not in his Opinion, himself a Friend to those Violences that have been us'd. They say, that *Monsieur le Tellier*, and *Monsieur Louvois*, had no mind

Monsieur L. M. D. L. F. 171

to revoke the Edict of *Nantes*, which the Bigots attempted. However, when *Monsieur le Tellier*, as Chancellor, sign'd the Declaration for that Purpose, he cry'd out with joy, like *Siméon*, *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine.* Lord, now lettest thou thy *Servant depart in Peace.* And for *Monsieur Louvois*, when he saw the thing begun, he push'd it to the Extremity, and to those Cruelties which were exercis'd, pretending in the Space of six Months, to convert sixteen hundred thousand Souls by Treatment unworthy, as I have already said, not only of Religion, but of Humanity. You have the Particulars of it in many Books of that Time; so that it is needless to mention them here: but it must be observ'd, that all these Cruelties have oblig'd eight hundred thousand Persons to depart the Kingdom, who have every one carry'd with them all the Money they could; and those likewise People, on whom a great part of the Commerce depended; because

being no longer admitted to Places of Trust, they had apply'd themselves either to Manufactures, or to the Improvement of their Money; inſomuch, that their Departure has been the Occaſion of very great Wounds to the State. The Jealouſies of the Miniſters of State, and the Government of the Women, who in the Sequel concern'd themſelves in every thing, have alſo been fatal to this Kingdom, which at laſt has ſeen it ſelf powerfully attack'd, and at the ſame time depriv'd of all good Advice.

However, we ſtill ſupported ourſelves in the firſt Years that follow'd the Peace of *Nimeguen*: but our Injuſtices have at laſt drawn down upon us the Publick Hatred; and that has been one of the Cauſes of our Miſfortunes.

It muſt alſo be obſerv'd, that by the Peace of *Nimeguen*, the King made uſe of his abſolute Authority, to drain whatever he cou'd from his People, and conſume it in Buildings, equally
ill

Monsieur L. M. D. L. F. 173

ill contriv'd and useless to the Publick, and in Water-Works, which, affecting to surpass Nature, are from their very Magnificence become ridiculous. Imitating the Kings of *Asia*, nothing pleas'd him but Slavery: he neglected Merit. His Ministers took no care to tell him the Truth, but only to flatter and please him. In every thing he regarded his own Person alone; and did nothing with respect to the Good of the State. His Son was brought up in a servile Dependence, a Stranger to the Management of Publick Affairs. He plac'd Confidence in none of his Generals; had no Regard to their Abilities, but only to their Submission; which was the Reason that no great Soldiers were form'd. On the other Hand, in the room of those able Ministers he had, he adopted their Sons, young, ill educated, insufficient, and corrupted by their Fortune. However, *Monsieur Louvois* and *Monsieur Seignelai* were Men of Parts and Activity, but not understanding and provident

Ministers: the first vicious, aiming at nothing but his own Interest, and the Ambition of being Master; of a little Soul, but tyrannical, which drew upon him the Aversion of all Men. *Monsieur Seignelai*, having little Courage, and a mean Spirit, but being subject to Passion, was the Cause that *Monsieur Louvois*, for fear of falling, put the King upon every thing, that might bring eternal Wars upon him, to the end that he might always have need of his Service. But that which gave most Vexation to this Minister, whose Rage was the Occasion of great Misfortunes in the Sequel; was the Favour of *Madame de Maintenon*, formerly call'd *Madam Scarron*, the Widow of a Burlesque Poet, a Woman of an agreeable and insinuating Temper, and which had still some Remains of Beauty. It may not be amiss here to give a little Abridgement of her Life. She was Grand-daughter of the *Sieur d'Aubigné*, who had been in some Esteem in the Court of King *Henry the IVth*. and had

Monsieur L. M. D. L. F. 175

had written the History of that Prince. The Mother of that *d'Aubigné* had had some Commerce with *Henry* the IVth. and *d'Aubigné* was suspected to be that King's natural Son. However that be, his Son, Father of the Lady of whom we are speaking, was born to no Estate, and was a Man of a very bad Life, great part of which he pass'd in Prison. There he fell in love with the Jaylor's Daughter, and making his Escape by her Assistance, they married, and went into *Canada*, where this Lady was born. She came thence into *France* at seventeen or eighteen Years of Age, a young Woman of Beauty, Vivacity, and Wit; and by her Poverty was oblig'd to enter into the Service of *Madame de Neuillant*, Mother to the Duchess of *Noailles*. This good Woman, avaritious beyond measure, put her upon all sorts of Drudgery; insomuch that, they say, in the absence of her Coachman, she often made her dress the Horses. In this Condition her Friends thought of nothing

I 4 thing

thing, but finding her a Husband good or bad. *Scarron*, a Man of a good Family of the Robe at *Paris*, of a great deal of Wit, as appears by his Works, but poor and lame, liking her Beauty and Wit, married her. Good Company us'd often to meet at his House before he was married; nor did his Wife hinder them coming afterwards: and the Company became still better, by her being of it. However, *Madame Scarron* behav'd herself virtuously; yet it is said, and passes for certain, that the *Marquis de Villarceaux*, one of the greatest Gallants of his time, was in love with her, and well receiv'd. He had before been very much in love with *Mademoiselle de Lenclos*, well known by the Name of *Dinon*. I never saw this *Mademoiselle Dinon* in her Beauty: but at the Age of fifty Years, and even beyond threescore and ten, she had Lovers that were very fond of her, and the most gallant Men in the Kingdom for her Friends. To the Age of four score and seven

seven, she was visited by the best Company of her time. She died with the use of all her Reason, and even with that agreeable Humour, which was the best, and the most amiable that I ever knew in any Woman. She being well appriz'd, that no Amours last for ever, pardon'd *Madame de Scarron* for taking *Monsieur Villarceaux* from her, and was one of her best Friends; to that degree of Intimacy, that they lay in the same Bed several Months together. After they had been married two Years, *Monsieur Scarron* died, and the Queen Mother continued to his Widow a Pension of two thousand Livers, which she had given to him.

The Marshal *d' Albret*, her Lover or her Friend, introduc'd her into the *Hôtel d' Albret*, and *Richelieu*, where she made an Acquaintance both with *Mademoiselle de Pons*, since *Madame de Heudicourt*, with whom the Marshal was fallen in Love; and also with *Madame de Montespan*,
I 5 who

who had married a near Kinsman of the Marshal. *Madame de Montespan* was become the King's reigning Mistress, and when the Duke of *Maine* was born, desiring to breed him up privately, she committed the Care of his Education to *Madame Scarron* by the Persuasion of *Madame d' Hendicourt*. The other Children, that were born afterwards, were also entrusted to her Care, who had a great Genius for that Business, and all the Talents requisite for their Education. However she frequently experienc'd the ill Humour of *Madame de Montespan*. Nay, 'tis reported, that the King himself often said of her to that favourite Mistress, *But if she displeases you, why don't you turn her off.* *Madame de Montespan* had afterwards reason to repent, that she had not taken this Advice; and was her self supplanted, and sent from Court, by a Person who had more Age and less Beauty than her, and one that she had always look'd upon as little better than a Chambermaid.

The

Monsieur L. M. D. L. F. 179

The most violent Passions do not last always, and few ever so long as that of the King for *Madame de Montespan*, which had already continued thirteen or fourteen Years. Yet this had not hinder'd his Majesty from honouring several others with his Favours, particularly *Madame de Monaco*, *Madame de Soubise*, *Madame du Lude*. But *Madame de Montespan* had been always look'd upon as the *Sultane* Queen. The Scandal was greater, because she had a Husband, especially when her Children had been own'd. and she had let them appear publickly at Court, which also brought *Madame de Scarron* thither. From that time she had more Commerce with the King, and often interpos'd between his Mistress and him. In this Commerce *Madame Scarron* found means to convince the King of her Wit, and of her Virtue; insomuch that she soon perceiv'd, that he placed great Confidence in her. His Majesty at bottom had Religion even to Superstition. One

180 *MEMOIRS of*

Day he chanced to meet the Holy Sacrament, as it was carried at *Versailles* to one of his Officers. To give a good Example, he accompanied it to the dying Person; and that Spectacle made so deep an Impression upon his Mind, that at his Return, he could not forbear acquainting his Mistress with the Trouble of his Conscience. She told him, she was also moved to Repentance; and they resolved to part from each other. The Bishop of *Meaux* was call'd to assist them in this Design: The Lady went for *Paris*; and the *Bishop*, after having had several Conferences with the King, and in the space of eight Days made many Journies to *Paris*, in which he carry'd, without knowing it, Letters that spoke of nothing less than of Devotion; was very much surpriz'd, when he saw her return'd to *Versailles*, and yet more, when from this Reconciliation he saw the Count of *Tolouse* born, the last Child that *Madame de Montespan* had by the King. However

ever his Majesty began to be impatient under the imperious Yoke of that Lady, who on her side became ill-natur'd, as soon as she found the King was capable of altering his Opinion of her.

From that time he had occasion for the Interposition of *Madame de Scarron*, of her Advice, and of that Consolation, which her pleasant and witty Conversation gave him. He had still more need of her, when he was fallen in Love with *Mademoiselle de Fontanges*, a young Lady of a good Family, lately Maid of Honour to the Duchess of *Orleans*, a very great Beauty, but haughty and expensive, who gloried in the King's Passion for her, and, as the Proverb says, set up Altar against Altar. *Madame de Montespan* was ready to burst with Envy, and like another *Medea*, threatned the King to tear his Children in Pieces before his Eyes. During these raging Fits of his old Mistress, he had no Comfort but *Madame Scarron*, who
made

made daily Advances in his Esteem, and in his good Graces. By the same degrees that *Madame de Montespan* lost his Affection by her Transports of Passion, the other gain'd it by her Complaisance. Even Father *La Chaise*, his Majesty's Confessor, less scrupled his Amour with *Mademoiselle de Fontanges*, than his double Adultery with *Madame de Montespan*; which made this Lady say very pleasantly, (alluding to that Father's Name, which in *English* signifies a Chair) that *Father la Chaise* was (*dans une Chaise de Commodité*) in a Chair of Convenience. However, though *Mademoiselle de Fontanges* died very soon after she was made a Duchess, yet *Madame de Montespan* never possess'd the King's Heart more, as she had done; and from that time *Madame de Scarron* had more Interest in it than she; which the other no sooner perceiv'd, but she raved beyond Expression, and thereby compleated her own Ruin, and establish'd her Rival.

As

As long as the Queen liv'd, *Madame Scarron* oblig'd the King to live well with her, would not give up her self wholly to him, and perswaded him at the same time of her Affection for him, and of her Virtue; insomuch that after the Queen's Death the King saw *Madame de Montespan* no otherwite, than in return to her Visits; till she, enrag'd to see his Favour lost, took the Resolution to retire from Court. This was a great Ease to *Madame Scarron*, and to the King, who continued to *Madame de Montespan* a Pension of a Thousand *Louis d' Or* a Month. Pretty near that time *Madame Scarron* having bought the Manour of *Main-tenon*, took the Name of it, and quitted that of her first Husband, which was by no means suitable to the Elevation of her Fortune. She also affected a great degree of Piety, which agreed with her Age, as well as with her Designs: and having inspir'd the King with Sentiments of Devotion, which in her perhaps was real, she
order'd

order'd the Matter so, that to avoid the trouble of his Conscience, his Majesty, as 'tis believ'd, married her privately. The Archbishop of *Paris*, less scrupulous than the King, but a good Courtier, Father *la Chaise* his Confessor, and *Monsieur Louvois* were Witnesses of this Marriage. *Madame de Maintenon* was from that time Mistress of the Court, and had the best part in the Government; which *Monsieur Louvois* suffer'd with Impatience, who then remain'd Master of all by the Death of *Monsieur Colbert*. This last Minister of State, who was more truly so, than any we have had since the two Cardinals *Richlieu* and *Mazarin*, and had carried the Revenues and Authority of the King farther than he ought to have done, not only for the Good of the People, but for that of the King himself, being appriz'd of this fallie step, though a little late, took Measures to restore all things to Order: but *Monsieur Louvois* thwarted him in all his Designs. He presented Me-
moirs

moirs against him upon the Subject of Building, a point very sensible to the King, for which *Monsieur Colbert* receiv'd some Reprimand; and they say, that the chagrin which he conceiv'd for the Ingratitude of this Prince, was in part the cause of his Death. It happen'd almost at the same time with that of the Queen; and it was observ'd, that when he was in Extremity, a Letter was given him from the King, which he would not read. *Madame de Maintenon*, to keep *Monsieur Louvois* in Awe afterwards, made use of the *Marquis de Seignelai*, *Monsieur Colbert's* Son, a young Man of Sense enough, active, ambitious, magnificent, haughty, and too much addicted to his Pleasures, between which and the Business of his Ministry he divided his Time. He was Secretary of State to his Majesty's Household, and had the Care of the Marine Affairs under him, which he carried to the highest pitch that had ever been known in *France*. This augmented
Mon-

186 MEMOIRS of

Monsieur Louvois Jealousy and Spite against *Madame Maintenon*. He thought of nothing else, but of throwing all things into Confusion, to make himself necessary, and of consuming infinite Treasures in fortifying Places, which in the Sequel were not only useless, but prejudicial. He had been the Occasion of the King's seizing *Strasbourg*, under ill Pretences. He made him also attack *Luxembourg* in full Peace, a thing which provok'd all *Europe*. *Monsieur Seignelai* on the other side, because the *Genoese* had displeas'd the King, went himself with a great Fleet to bombard *Genoa*, and oblig'd that Republick to send their Doge to *Versailles*, to ask Pardon of the King, who receiv'd him with the Pride and Arrogance of an *Eastern* Monarch. All these Expeditions, together with that prodigious Expence which the King was making and had made in Buildings and Waterworks, exhausted the State. He had built *Clagni* for *Madame de Montespan*,
Marli

Monsieur L. M. D. L. F. 187

Marli for *Madame de Maintenon*; The Charge of both enormous. *Monsieur Louvois* was made Superintendent of the Buildings, upon the Death of *Monsieur Colbert*, and by the Assistance of *Monsieur Mansard*, he daily furnish'd the King with new Designs, to employ him during the Peace. *Monsieur Seignelai* on his part expended considerable Summs in Building Ships, which was at least more useful, but gave much Jealousy to *England* and *Holland*. This, with many other things which I shall mention afterwards, reunited all *Europe* against us; and the Abuse we made of the Peace, join'd to a War which we drew unseasonably upon our selves, has put us out of the Power to maintain that, which was inevitable for the Succession of *Spain*.

The King, during this Peace, did in the Year 1680, marry the *Dauphin* to the Princess of *Bavaria*; notwithstanding which Alliance, her Brother was against us in the War, which began.

gan in the Year 1688. His Majesty also married his Niece, the eldest Daughter of the Duke of *Orleans*, and of the Princess *Henrietta* of *England*, to *Charles* the II^d. King of *Spain*. She had no Children, any more than the Princess that succeeded her. The youngest Daughter of the Duke of *Orleans* was espous'd to the Duke of *Savoy*; who by the ill Treatment he receiv'd from *Monsieur Louvois*, being since become the most cruel of our Enemies, has done us as much, and even more Prejudice than any other. But it was then the Manner of *France* to despise foreign Princes. The fundamental Maxims of good Government, pass'd in the Opinion of the Ministers, and of the King, for ridiculous Notions. He thought his own particular Glory, and his personal Interest, separate from the publick Good of the State. This is that which has been the Occasion of the Declension of both; and we will now see by what degrees it came to pass.

As

As long as *Charles* the II^d. King of *England* lived, he was united with the King of *France* in Friendship and Interest: but he gave not himself up entirely to that King's Conduct, nor took his Despotick Maxims for the Model of his own. Moreover, tho' he was a Catholick in his Heart, as they pretended he discover'd at his Death, yet he did not declare himself so, but always appear'd the Protector of the Religion of the Church of *England*; insomuch, that tho' one part of his People was discontented with the Alliance he had with *France*, yet they did not think that a sufficient Subject of Complaint against him, to push Matters to extremity. It must also be observ'd, that like most other Men, he was compos'd of contrary Qualities, was indolent, voluptuous, negligent, and a lover of his Ease; but with this, a Man of good Sense, Courage, and Resolution, and capable of acting when it was necessary. He was good natur'd, and easy of access. He took
delight

delight in the Happiness of his People; and indeed *England* never enjoy'd more Wealth and Tranquillity, than since his Restauration to the Throne. He had married the Princess of *Portugal*, by whom he had no Children, and was never without a Mistress of the finest Women that could be found. The Duchess of *Orleans*, his Majesty's Sister, in the Journey she made to *Dover*, on her Return from whence she died, carried *Mademoiselle de Keroual* with her, young and handsome, with whom the King was so much pleas'd, that after the Death of the Duchess of *Orleans*, he order'd Mr. *Montague*, his Ambassador, to send her into *England*. There she made the same Figure, that *Madame de Montespan* did in *France*, and yet more considerable in this Regard, that King *Charles* communicated to her all the Affairs of State; and all the Ambassadors treated with her. In a little time he gave her immense Sums of Money, with the Title of Duchess of
Portf.

Portsmouth; and she did not a little contribute to that perfect good Understanding there always was between the two Kings. Yet she was not able to hinder King *Charles*, from giving in Marriage to the Prince of *Orange* his Nephew, the eldest Daughter of his Brother the Duke of *York*, the Heir Presumptive of the Crown, by his first Marriage with the Daughter of my Lord Chancellor *Hyde*. The Duke of *York*, since the Death of that first Wife, had a mind to a *French* Match, to marry the Duke of *Crequi's* Daughter; but the King his Brother hinder'd him from it, and soon after he married the Princess of *Modena*, by whom he had one Son, and one Daughter, who are with their Father, at present, Refugees in *France*.

As long as *Charles* the II^d. lived, *England* enjoy'd a profound Tranquillity, and the Riches which Trade brought her. At his Death the Duke of *York*, tho' he had openly declar'd himself a Catholick, was by the common

mon Consent of the People proclaim'd King of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*; and his Reign, in all appearance, had been as happy, as that of his Brother, if by the Persuasion of his Wife, and with the Desire of following the Example, and perhaps the Advice of our King, he had not acted against the Religion of his Countrey, and against the Privileges of his Parliament. The first of his Subjects that rebelled against him, was his Nephew the Duke of *Monmouth*, natural Son of King *Charles the II^d*. This Duke, one of the handsomest Personages of his time, lost a Battel, was taken, and carried to *London*, where he was beheaded in punishment of his Rebellion, which only serv'd to strengthen the Authority of King *James*. It was then that his Majesty scarce admitted any one, either to Places of Trust, or to his Favour, but those whom he thought Catholicks, at least in their Hearts. This occasion'd a common Conspiracy of the whole Nation against him, which

which he knew neither how to find, to prevent, nor to surmount. Yet he was a Man of Courage, but not of the deepest Sense, nor of the greatest Resolution. The Prince of *Orange* being his Nephew, his Son-in-law, and 'till that time his Heir Presumptive, it is no wonder that the *English* address'd themselves to him for the Maintenance of their Laws: but it is very wonderful that King *James* knew nothing of it; and that by his ill-grounded Security, he impos'd upon the King of *France*, who every Day receiv'd Advice, that the Prince of *Orange* was equipping a Fleet in *Holland*, to pass over into *England*; to which King *James*'s constant Answer was, that he had an Army whereof he was assur'd, and that the Prince of *Orange*'s Design was rather upon the Coasts of *France*. *Monsieur Barillon*, the King of *France*'s Ambassador in *England*, deceiv'd by ———, King *James*'s favourite Minister, who yet betray'd him, help'd some time to im-

K

pose

pose upon the King of *France*; and the Prince of *Orange's* Design was not certainly known, till there was scarce left time to provide against it. However, *Monsieur Seignelai* offer'd the King to equip forty Ships, which should be in readiness time enough to hinder the *Dutch* Fleet passing; but *Monsieur Louvois* represented this as ridiculous and impracticable, and persuaded the King to make a Diversion. Had that been done, by marching to *Cologne* or *Maestricht*, as the King of *England* propos'd, I do not think the *Hollanders* wou'd have unfurnish'd themselves, as they did, of their Troops: but because the *Dauphin* went to attack *Philipsbourg*, which brought all *Germany* into the Field, and gave no Disturbance to the *Hollanders*, the Prince of *Orange*, tho' at first driven back by contrary Winds, pursu'd his Expedition, which has been a mortal Blow to the Monarchy of *France*. What *Monsieur Louvois* advis'd upon this Occasion, was the Counsel of an
 intc-

interested Person, who desir'd to bring a War upon the Nation, cost what it would, because he found his Favour with the King lessen, and that of *Monsieur Seignelai*, protected by *Madame Maintenon*, increas'd every Day. And effectually he had the Pleasure to kindle the War; but he did not enjoy this Pleasure long, any more than he did that occasion'd him by *Monsieur Seignelai's* Death, which happen'd only a Year before his own, not without suspicion of Poison. And with regard to the Death of them both, I cannot omit speaking here of the *Chamber of Poisons*, a Court of Justice establish'd with good reason, to punish the Guilty, and stop the Progress of that Crime, which augmented every Day: but *Monsieur Louvois* made use of it to prosecute his Revenge and private Enmities. Many Persons of the first Quality, and those altogether innocent, were cited before this Tribunal, for the most part upon very light Occasions.

That which gave occasion to the first Process for this Crime, which was then common in *France*, was the Case of *Madame de Brinvilliers*, Daughter of the *Lieutenant Civil d'Aubrai*, a little Woman, who had been handsome and *gallante*, but had since a certain time visited the Hospitals, and pretended to Devotion. She had an intimate Friendship with a Man named *St. Croix*, a *Gascon*, who lived by his Wits, and had been in the *Bastille*, where he had learn'd the Composition of Poisons from an *Italian*. He also pretended to *Chymistry*. This Man, as he was making up a very strong Poison, that was to work its Effect immediately, let his Glass-Mask fall off, which was to preserve him from the Malignity of the Venom, and suddenly died of it. When his Goods were visited, a little Box was found among them, which *Madame de Brinvilliers* demanded as hers, with great Impunity. The Magistrates order'd it to be open'd; and the Poisons were found therein,

therein, each mark'd with the Effect it would have: but as soon as the Lady was advertis'd hereof, she fled into *England*. Her Poisons were essay'd upon several Creatures, and her Crime thereby made manifest; and *Desgrais*, an able Officer, was sent into the Countrey to search for her. It must be observ'd, that at the same time, and even before this, the Archbishop of *Paris* had been inform'd by the Parochial Confessors, that many Persons had confess'd, that they had been concern'd in poisoning. It had happen'd, that many had died of slow and unknown Distempers; among others, the Father and the Brother of *Madame de Brinvilliers*. She was not long in *England*, where King *Charles* caus'd her to be search'd after. At last she was taken at *Liege*, and brought to *Paris*, where she was beheaded, too gentle a Punishment for such a Criminal: but her Family being one of the most powerful of the Robe, she was favour'd by the Judges, tho' con-

198 *MEMOIRS of*

victed of having poison'd, not only her Father and Brother, but even divers of the Poor in the Hospital, and several Peasants in the Countrey, with no other View, but to try the Force of her Poisons. When they were once got upon the Examination of these Matters, Suspicions and Indications of like Crimes fell upon other Persons. Some were found, who made as it were a Trade of poisoning; among others, two Women, named *La Vigoureux* and *La Voisin*, who in the way of Fortune telling, had given several Ladies wherewithal to get rid of their Husbands, and even of their Lovers, when they were weary of them. The Curiosity natural to this Sex, and even to many Men, having brought to these Women some Persons of the first Quality, who yet had no thoughts of poisoning any one; it happen'd that some Ladies put Questions to them concerning the Life of this and that Person, and even concerning that of the King and his Mistresses. This gave a fair
Oppor-

Opportunity to *Monsieur Louvois*, a Man of a malicious and spiteful Nature, to ruin those to whom he bore an ill Will. Besides this, the Countess of *Soissons*, an Enemy to *Madame de Montespan*, to whom she had refus'd to resign the Place of Superintendant to the Queen, was, I believe, on a slight Occasion enough, order'd to be taken up by a Warrant; and because she dreaded Confinement, and the Artifice of her Enemies, she fled into *Flanders*. Her Sister the Duchess of *Bouillon* appear'd before the Judges with Confidence and Haughtiness, accompanied with all her Friends, who were in great number; and what was more considerable, this gave distaste to the Court, and was the Cause of her first Banishment. The Duke of *Luxembourg*, Captain of the Guard *du Corps*, the same that won so many great Battels, being ill with *Monsieur Louvois*, who had been his Friend, and accus'd unjustly of having consulted one call'd *La Sage*, surrender'd

himself to the *Bastille*, and underwent the Rigour of the Judges, who declar'd him innocent. It is true, that his too great Curiosity, and frequent Commerce with the Women, might have occasion'd some Suspicion; but he did not deserve the Affront that was put upon him. It is astonishing, that on this Occasion *Monsieur Louvois* push'd the first Persons of the Kingdom to such Extremities; and yet neither they themselves, nor their Relations, nor even their Children ever resent'd it. I know not whether that ought to be imputed to the King's Authority, or to the poor Spirit of the Nobility, which was excessive under this Reign; as well as the Contempt shewn by the Ministers, and the King himself, to the greatest Persons in the Kingdom, beginning with his own Brother, and the Princes of the Blood.

In the time which pass'd between the Peace of *Nimeguen*, and the Prince of *Orange's* going over into *England*, the Emperor was warmly attack'd by
the

the *Turks*, whose Grand *Vizier* laid Siege to *Vienna*, and was upon the Point of rend'ring himself Master of it, when *John Sobieski*, King of *Poland*, join'd his Forces to those of the Emperor, under the Command of the Duke of *Lorraine*; and both together rais'd the Siege, where the *Turks* receiv'd a great Overthrow. They were again push'd and beaten on some other Occasions, and at last at *Barcan*. The King of *Poland* going to attack them only with his own Troops, was guilty of a little ill Conduct, and had been surrounded by the Enemy and taken, if the Duke of *Lorraine* had not come to his Relief, and disengag'd him, and beat the *Turks*. This Action, and several others, gain'd that Duke a great Reputation, which he sustain'd, by the Conquest of all that the *Turks* had taken in *Hungary*, and by that of *Buda* it self. The Duke of *Bavaria*, a young, valourous Prince, and desirous of Glory, accompanied him in his last Expeditions; and

by his own particular Conduct laid Siege to *Belgrade*, and took it. The Princes of *Conti*, as brave and as desirous of Glory as he, went Volunteers in the Emperor's Army, to make their first *Campagne*; and were at the taking of *Neuhaufel*, which was carried by assault, and at the Battel of *Gran*. The Prince of *Turenne* accompanied them thither, where they found some *French* Volunteers of Quality, of whom they made themselves a Court; among others the *Marquis de Lassay*, much younger than they, but a Man of Sense and great Courage, capable of going as a Knight Errant in search of Adventures, and Occasions to signalize himself. They return'd from that Journey with great Reputation; and were preparing to go back the next Year to search the War in *Hungary*, if the King had given them leave; but his Majesty consider'd better of it, and revoked the Permission he had given them. They set out with great Eagerness, and were got into *Flanders*,

ders, and from thence into *Holland*, before they could be overtaken, and acquainted with the King's Pleasure; which they oppos'd a considerable time, and the Remonstrances made to them again and again, by the great Prince of *Condé* their Uncle. But *Monsieur Saintrilles*, who was last sent to them, brought them back. They had carried with them Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, their Cousin, then about sixteen or seventeen Years old, design'd by his Relations for the Church, but who finding himself fitter for another Employment, would not follow their Direction; and had desir'd the King to give him a Company of Horse, but was refus'd it. He therefore resolv'd to go with the Princes of the Blood, to search for the War in *Hungary*; but when they return'd into *France*, he made no difficulty to tell them, that they indeed could not dispense with obeying the King, and returning into their own Countrey, where they had a considerable Rank, and great

Estates; but for his part, he was resolv'd to seek his Fortune. This is that Prince *Eugene*, who at the time that I am now writing, may be said to be the greatest General in *Europe*; who has rais'd again the diminish'd Glory of the House of *Austria*, and pull'd down that of *France*.

There happen'd to these Princes, during their Journey a very unfortunate Accident, and that by the Indiscretion of *Monsieur Villeroy*. *Messieurs de la Rocheguyon, de Liancourt, and de Villeroy*, young Gentlemen of their Acquaintance, whom the King had refus'd his Permission to follow them, kept a regular Correspondence with them by Letter. Ill Fortune would have it, that *Monsieur Villeroy's* Nephews entertain'd a Commerce with somebody in *France*, who dissuaded them from obeying the King. *Monsieur Villeroy* advis'd, that the Courier who went to find them, should be arrested, and he was found charg'd with Letters from these young Gentlemen.

lemen. In these Letters they writ like rash young Men, and treated the King in them, as a Countrey Gentleman that santer'd away his Life with his old Wife; and us'd Expressions of so much Contempt, that his Majesty never forgot it; and the rather, because these Gentlemen were the Sons, one of them of the Duke of *Villeroy*, whom the King treated with wonderful Respect; and the two others, of the Duke of *Rochefoucault*, who was a kind of Favourite. The King banish'd them all three, and wou'd not see the Prince of *Rochesuryon* at his Return; because the Letters were subscrib'd to him. As for the Prince of *Conti*, his Son-in-law, he was willing to think, that he knew nothing of this Commerce. This Adventure was very prejudicial to the Prince of *Rochesuryon* all the rest of his Life. Soon after he became the eldest of his Line, and took the Name of *Conti*, on the Death of his Brother, who left no Issue by the King's Daughter. This second Prince
of

of *Conti*, died at that very time, when he flatter'd himself, that he shou'd overcome the King's Aversion for him; and that the Welfare of the Kingdom, and his own Reputation, were going to place him at the Head of the Army. He gave Proofs of his Courage and Abilities for War, in the *Campaigns* which he made with the Duke of *Luxembourg*. He had a great deal of good Sense, and had much improv'd it by reading: with this he had a Sweetness of Humour, which render'd him a Person of the most agreeable Conversation that could be. His Reputation was so extraordinary, that at the Death of *Sobieski*, he was elected King of *Poland* by the greatest part of the Palatinats of that Kingdom. But it was objected against him, that he did not sustain his Election with sufficient Forwardness and Vigour; which if he had done, he had been King, and *Poland* more happy than it has since been. He did not appear upon this Occasion to have so great a Soul as
was

imagin'd; and a sort of Ingratitude shew'd by him to the Abbot of *Po-lignac*, the King's Ambassador, who had serv'd him in this Election, discover'd him to be a Man without either Friendship or Acknowledgment. He was also reputed to be too much addicted to his own Interest, in the Contest which he had with *Madame de Nemours*; and after the Death of that Princess, with her Heirs, for the Principality of *Neuchâtel*. He was however, one of the most perfect of all the Princes I have known. When he was return'd to Court, after the Death of the Prince of *Condé*, who gave him his Daughter in Marriage, and when he was dying, begg'd of the King with the last Importunity to pardon his Nephew, he made diligent court to the Dauphin, and that with Success. The Duke of *Vendôme* was at that time a kind of Favourite of the Dauphin, who every Year pass'd a Fortnight at *Anet*, in hunting the Wolf with the young Nobility of the Court. There a Cabal
was

was made for the Prince of *Conti*, who in the Sequel counterbalanc'd the Favour of *Monsieur de Vendôme*.

At first the Princes of the Blood were closely united with *Monsieur de Vendôme*, and the Grand Prior his Brother : but this Union did not last long. I had been for some Years since one of *Monsieur de Vendôme's* Friends, tho' I was Ten Years older than he : I was likewise united in strict Friendship with the Abbot of *Chaulieu*, at that time their Favourite, and intirely Master of their Affairs. Matters being in this State, the King was very ill of a *Fistula*, and resolv'd at last to undergo the usual Operation for that Distemper, which was then less known than it hath been since. This made People fear for his Life, and consequently reviv'd the Cabals at the *Dauphin's*, which augmented yet more, when after this Operation the King fell ill again of a Boil, which was an Indication of the Corruption of his Blood, and made it necessary
for

for him to undergo another Operation, more severe and more dangerous than the former. Though he was actually in danger, he was not willing to be thought so. Accordingly this Illness did not hinder *Monsieur de Vendôme*, the Abbot of *Chaulieu*, and my self, from contriving for the *Dauphin's* Diversion at *Anet*, to entertain him with a Feast and an *Opera*, the Words of it compos'd by *Monsieur Capistran* a Poet of *Toulouse* in the Service of *Monsieur de Vendôme*, and the Musick set by *Monsieur Lully*, a Friend to us all. This Entertainment cost *Monsieur de Vendôme*, who had no Money to spare, a Hundred Thousand *Livers*; and because the Grand Prior, the Abbot of *Chaulieu*, and I, had each of us our Mistress at the *Opera*, common Fame was so malicious to report, that we had made *Monsieur de Vendôme* spend a Hundred Thousand *Livers*, to divert us and our Ladies: but sure we had greater Views than that; which yet vanish'd

in the Sequel, all things having considerably chang'd their Face, and nothing happen'd of what we then expected, not without some Appearance.

The Prince of *Condé* being become Master of *Chautilli* by his Father's Death, did there the next Year (*viz.* 1688.) likewise entertain the *Dauphin* at a Feast, which lasted eight Days, as the other did. The Prince of *Condé* was the Man in the World who had the best Talent for contriving all that could render it gallant and magnificent: he spar'd nothing for that purpose. It was one of the last Days of that Feast, that a Courier arriv'd from Court, who brought the *Dauphin* a List of the Lieutenants General and Marshals *de Camp*, which the King had made, to renew the War. *Monsieur de Vendôme* receiv'd a particular Letter from *Monsieur Louvois*, which gave him Advice of his Promotion to that Honour; and some others who were at that Feast having been

been also nam'd, set out the Day after, as well as he, to go and prepare themselves for an Expedition: for it was now no longer doubted, that the Prince of *Orange* would go over into *England*. The *Dauphin* was hardly arriv'd at *Versailles*, when all Preparations were making for the Seige of *Philipsbourg*. He set out therefore some time after for that Expedition. *Monsieur de Vendôme* was much surpriz'd, that himself was not of the Number of the Generals, who were to make the *Campagne*; and when his Brother the Grand Prior ask'd to go thither, at least as a Volunteer, it was refus'd him with some Sharpness; which shew'd, that the King had not perhaps been too well pleas'd with the Feast of *Anet*. However *Monsieur de Vendôme*, for whom he had naturally an Inclination, recover'd his Majesty's Favour: but the Grand Prior his Brother could never obtain that Happiness. However he was fully resolv'd to enter into the Service, and
he

212 MEMOIRS of

he serv'd in *Flanders* with *Monsieur de Luxembourg*, who plac'd intire Confidence in him, not without Reason: for he had certainly great Talents for the War. Thus Matters pass'd from the Peace of *Nimeguen*, which continued Ten Years, to the taking of *Philipsbourg*, which was the Signal of a new War, wherein *France*, though almost victorious, was yet so much exhausted, that we have lost Ground in the War we have had to maintain for the Succession of *Spain*, as will appear in the Sequel.



CHAP.



CHAP. X.

*The most considerable Events in
the War, and at the Court,
from the End of the Year
1688, to the Peace of Ryf-
wick in the Year 1697.*

THE Prince of *Orange* in going over into *England*, had not perhaps intirely form'd the Design of dethroning King *James*, his Unkle and Father-in-Law; nor was it with that intention, that he had been invited over by the greatest part of the *English* Nobility, in an Instrument under their Hands, which he had in his Cabinet: but their Design was to reform their Government, secure their Religion, and oblige King *James* to enter into a general League against *France*. However the King was dispossest'd,
and

and that after a manner unusual till that Time; for it was done without striking one Stroke, notwithstanding the Valour of the *English*.

The Prince's Fleet, after having suffer'd by a Tempest, came to Land not far from *Exeter*; and there appear'd at the beginning so little Disposition in the People to give him a favourable Reception, that it is said, he had some Thoughts of going back. He had for his General under him Marshal *Schumberg*, a *German*, a very able and experienc'd Commander, who after the Peace of the Year 1660, had supported *Portugal* by the Gain of two Battels, and had left *France*, when all those of the Protestant Religion were proscrib'd. In him *France* lost a good Subject, notwithstanding that his Fidelity was suspected; for he had almost always entertain'd a Correspondence with *Holland* and the Prince of *Orange*. As in his Youth he had serv'd the great Unkle of this Prince, he now very much assisted the
Nephew

Nephew in this Enterprize, which yet, it is thought, would have miscarried, if King *James*, who had a great Army, had without losing time march'd directly to *Exeter*. But the chief of his Court, his Ministers, the the Prince of *Denmark*, and even his own Daughter the Princess being in the Prince's Interest, he was intirely destitute of good Counsel, and also incapable of taking any himself. *Monsieur Barillon* the *French* Ambassador found then, but too late, that he had been impos'd upon by one of the Secretaries of State, and I believe the Regret of that occasion'd his Death. While Matters were under Deliberation at *London*, then at *Windsor*, and afterwards at the Army, to which the King was gone down, and had given the Command of it to the Earl of *Feversham*, Brother to the Duke of *Duras*, and to the Marshal *de Lorges*; the Prince of *Orange* advanc'd with his Army, and as he advanc'd the People declar'd for him. When he
was

216 *MEMOIRS of*

was yet in his March, the King was very much surpriz'd to see himself abandon'd by his Son-in-Law and his Daughter, and the chief of the Court, by several of the principal Officers of his Army, and by some of his own Regiments. One of the first who deserted him was my Lord —, by whole Sister that Prince had had Children, and whom he had rais'd from a small Fortune to a great one. Notwithstanding the greatest part of his Army was still faithful to him, especially the *Irish*: and if in the place of those Officers who had deserted him, he had immediately substituted others, and led his Army to the Battle, he might have made his Enemy risque half the Danger: but his Majesty return'd to *London*, concern'd to know what side that City would take, to which the Prince of *Orange* drew nigh. When his Highness was at some Distance from thence, the Marquess of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin* were

were deputed by the King himself, to go and treat with him: and certainly the Intention of those Lords was not intirely to dethrone the King, but to put him under a kind of Guardianship by the Means of his Nephew. That Apprehension of Danger to herself and her Son, with which the Queen possels'd the King her Husband, join'd to those ill Counsels, which were perhaps inspir'd into him by some conceal'd Friends of the Prince of *Orange*, made his Majesty take the Resolution, before the Return of those Lords, to send the Queen and his Son, who was but six or seven Months old, over into *France*. The Count of *Lauzun*, who to his good Fortune was then in *England*, took the Charge of conducting them, and they arriv'd safe. The King himself, after having seen his own Guard reliev'd by a *Dutch* Guard without striking a Stroke, privately withdrew, in order to retire into *France*; but he was discover'd and stopp'd, as he was upon the point

L

of

218 *MEMOIRS of*

of imbarcking, and was brought back to *London* with great Respect; where he was receiv'd with loud Acclamations, and Marks of popular Joy. However he was no longer at Liberty; and when the Prince of *Orange* came to *London*, his Majesty was told, that for the Safety of his Person, it was necessary he should withdraw. And his Son-in-Law being well pleas'd, that he took the Resolution to go over into *France*, which was the worst he could possibly take, he was ill guarded at *Portsmouth*; whither he was conducted, and in all Appearance was designedly permitted to escape, and go over into *France*, where he arriv'd in the beginning of the Year 1689, and there met the Queen and his Son.

This Change of Government in *England*, which occasion'd an intire Change of the Interests and Maxims of State, was a mortal Blow to *France*, which till that time had withstood the Forces of all *Europe*, and obtain'd
great

great Advantages over all her Enemies. The Union of *Holland* with *England*, whereof the Prince of *Orange*, soon after become King, was the Cement, prov'd fatal to us. Notwithstanding *France* had still good and great Success, but knew not how to make Advantage of it, and was at that time exhausted.

On the other hand the Emperor, who had reconquer'd *Hungary*, and his Armies thereby learn'd Experience, and his Generals become great Commanders; was in a Condition to make War upon us. The Prince of *Baden*, who had succeeded the Duke of *Lorraine*; and won Battels against the *Turks*, oppos'd our Progress in *Germany*, and the Prince of *Orange*, whom I shall henceforward style King *William*, repass'd the Sea every Year, to put himself at the Head of his Armies, and that of *Holland*, and still made us pay very dear for the Victories we gain'd upon him.

The King of *France* was immedi-
L 2 ately

218 *MEMOIRS of*

of imbarcking, and was brought back to *London* with great Respect; where he was receiv'd with loud Acclamations, and Marks of popular Joy. However he was no longer at Liberty; and when the Prince of *Orange* came to *London*, his Majesty was told, that for the Safety of his Person, it was necessary he should withdraw. And his Son-in-Law being well pleas'd, that he took the Resolution to go over into *France*, which was the worst he could possibly take, he was ill guarded at *Portsmouth*, whither he was conducted, and in all Appearance was designedly permitted to escape, and go over into *France*, where he arriv'd in the beginning of the Year 1689, and there met the Queen and his Son.

This Change of Government in *England*, which occasion'd an intire Change of the Interests and Maxims of State, was a mortal Blow to *France*, which till that time had withstood the Forces of all *Europe*, and obtain'd
great

great Advantages over all her Enemies. The Union of *Holland* with *England*, whereof the Prince of *Orange*, soon after become King, was the Cement, prov'd fatal to us. Notwithstanding *France* had still good and great Success, but knew not how to make Advantage of it, and was at that time exhausted.

On the other hand the Emperor, who had reconquer'd *Hungary*, and his Armies thereby learn'd Experience, and his Generals become great Commanders; was in a Condition to make War upon us. The Prince of *Baden*, who had succeeded the Duke of *Lorraine*; and won Battels against the *Turks*, oppos'd our Progress in *Germany*, and the Prince of *Orange*, whom I shall henceforward style King *William*, repass'd the Sea every Year, to put himself at the Head of his Armies, and that of *Holland*, and still made us pay very dear for the Victories we gain'd upon him.

The King of *France* was immediately

ately at great Expence to equip a Fleet, and carry an Army into *Ireland*. King *James* had still some Towns there, and one part of the People for him. The Count of *Lauzun*, who had gain'd the Queen of *England*'s Favour, was at her Request made Duke, and was chosen by both Kings to command the Army under King *James*. This War, whereof *Monsieur Seignelai* was the Promoter, because it could not be made but by the Means of the *Marine*, was no ways agreeable to *Monsieur Louvois*, who did what he could to make it miscarry. But King *James* was yet less helpful to himself than we; whereas King *William* did not lose one Moment to go over in Person into *Ireland*, and drove out King *James*; who being ill posted on the River *Boyne*, was there overthrown, and saw all his Forces dispers'd. King *James*, the Duke of *Lauzun*, the Troops, and the Generals got little Honour in the Fight, and many re-embark'd very unseasonably

seasonably, as well as the King, and the Duke of *Launzun*. Only *Monsieur Boisselot*, Captain of the *French* Guards, threw himself into *Limerick*, and came out again with Honour, after having endur'd a long Siege, and destroy'd great part of King *William's* Army. Marshal *Schomberg* was kill'd in this Battle of the *Boyne*, and King *William* himself, before the Fight, had his Shoulder slightly wounded with a Canon Ball; but that did not hinder him from putting his Troops into Order of Battel, and being himself at the Fight, an Instance of his great Courage: for his Wound was considerable, and oblig'd him to absent himself some time from his Army. This occasion'd a Rumour through all the Army, that he was dead: and the News was receiv'd with so much Joy in *France*, that the People of their own accord made Bonfires on that Occasion; and this Rumour was not soon enough stopp'd by *Monsieur Louvois* and the other Ministers, who were for some

time in the common Error. The same Day that this Report was spread at *Paris*, I return'd in the Evening from *Seaux*, with the *Marquis de Seignelai*, and we were much surpriz'd to see Bonfires in all the Streets, and Princes of *Orange* made of Straw, and thrown into the Fire, the People drinking the King's Health at the same time, and forcing all who pass'd by to stop and drink it. This general Rejoycing gave great Disgust to all Persons of Understanding; and I know not whether the Prince of *Orange* ever receiv'd a greater *Elogium*, or which more shew'd the Fear his Enemies had of him, than that Transport of Joy into which they were thrown by the Belief they had of his Death. But what seems incredible is, that we were a whole Month without knowing, whether he was alive or no: so good Intelligence had the Court.

The Year following another great Reinforcement was carried over into *Ireland*, under the Command of *Monsieur*

sieur St. Ruth. He was a Man of Boldness and Courage, but of little Experience, or any other Civil Qualifications requisite in a Person promoted to any Place of the first Rank. The Marshal *de la Meilleraye's* Lady, an old foolish Woman, was fond of him in the Life-time of her Husband, whose Page he was, and after the Marshal's Death contracted with him a Marriage of Conscience. This sort of Marriage, then become fashionable, much contributed to the making of *Monsieur St. Ruth's* Fortune. The King advanc'd him to the Post of Lieutenant of his Guard *du Corps*, employ'd him, made him command in *Dauphiny*, and at last sent him into *Ireland*, as a Person capable of re-establishing King *James's* Affairs there: In which one cannot but admire the Fondness the King often took on very slight Grounds for Persons of no great Birth or extraordinary Merit. *Monsieur St. Ruth* was one of the least unworthy that his Majesty made

Choice of in this manner. He join'd my Lord *Tyrconnel* in *Ireland*, who commanded there for King *James*, and both together gave Battel to King *William's* Army. They fought valiantly, and it was pretended, that if *Monsieur St. Ruth* had not been taken off by a Canon Ball, he would have gain'd the Battel: which on the contrary was lost, and all *Ireland*, in some time after, submitted to King *William*; who as soon as he was freed from the Expence and Disquiet of this War, carried his Forces over into *Flanders*. However the War was not so successful there, neither for his Allies, nor for himself. It is very true, that our Army, under the Conduct of Marshal *d' Humieres*, receiv'd a Blow at *Valcourt*, and though it was not of the last Consequence, yet *Monsieur Louvois* fell so roughly upon the Marshal his Friend, that he ruin'd him in the King's Esteem; insomuch that the Year following, the Command of the Army was given to the Marshal Duke of *Luxem-*

Monsieur L. M. D. L. F. 225

Luxembourg, Mortal Enemy to *Monsieur Louvois*, and intimate Friend of *Monsieur Seignelai*. This Mortification *Monsieur Louvois* drew upon himself, by undermining his Friend Marshal *d'Humieres* in the King's Favour; which he did not with any View of Advantage to the Duke of *Luxembourg*, but only to keep the other the more in Subjection, and Dependence. This Minister was likewise himself a Sufferer from these ill Offices which he did *Monsieur Pomponne*, Secretary of State for the foreign Affairs, whom he put to that Extremity as to make him quit the Ministry, that his Post might fall to some one of his own Creatures. But his Majesty made Choice of the *Marquis de Croissy*, *Monsieur Colbert's* Brother, for this Employment, which went like a Dagger to the Heart of *Monsieur Louvois*, to see that Family support and raise it self in Spite of him. After the Death of *Monsieur Louvois* and *Monsieur Croissy*, *Monsieur Pomponne* was re-

226 *MEMOIRS of*

stor'd to his Post, and the *Marquis de Torcy*, having the Survivance of it by marrying his Daughter, from that time they both jointly executed that Charge. Thus it was restor'd to the Family of *Colbert*; which in all appearance is likely to become more powerful than ever: whereas that of *Louvois*, or, to speak more justly, of *le Tellier*, is entirely fallen; tho' they still possess immense Riches, but without any Favour, or Consideration of the Court.

In the Year 1690, *Monsieur Louvois*, not being able to hinder the Duke of *Luxembourg* from commanding the principal Army in *Flanders*, found means at least to procure a Detachment of a great part of it, to compose another for Marshal *d'Humières* towards the Sea Coasts. Yet he sent positive Order to the Duke of *Luxembourg*, who was between the *Sambre* and the *Maese*, to pass the former of those Rivers, which expos'd that General to a Blow almost inevitable,

table, if Count *Waldeck*, who commanded the Army of the Allies, had been as vigilant a Commander as he. But tho' he was an experienc'd General, he was not very enterprising; and stopping too long at *Fleurus*, which is not above two or three Leagues from the *Sambre*, the greatest part of the King's Army was actually pass'd that River, before he stirr'd to oppose their Passage. The first Body of Horse which he detach'd for that Purpose, was engag'd by the *Gendarmerie*, and after a great and vigorous Fight, was pursu'd till they came in sight of their own Camp. Count *Waldeck* had a great Army, posted to great advantage. But the Duke of *Luxembourg*, who could not avoid repassing the *Sambre* before the Enemy, without engaging them, spent all the Night in preparing himself to attack them the next Day. The Front of their main Body was cover'd with a Brook, so that there was no Possibility of attacking them, only on their Left. In this

228 *MEMOIRS of*

Situation the Grand Prior, who was near the Duke of *Luxembourg*, made all his Right pass over, one after another, and fell upon the Flank of the Left, while we charg'd their Right; which determin'd the Conflict, and routed their Cavalry. Yet their Infantry rallied again, and made a great Fire. The Duke of *Maine* had a Horse there kill'd under him; and near him *Monsieur Suffal* (who was his Gouverneur, as he had been also to the Duke of *Vendôme*) was slain. Some afterwards blamed the Duke of *Luxembourg* for having separated his Army in sight of the Enemy; who might have taken advantage of it: but the Ground being such, that they could not perceive the Separation, I am, on the contrary, of Opinion, that this General thereby merited great Praise. This Battel happily won, was the Source of all the other good Success, which *France* had during this War. The Duke of *Luxembourg* was for marching forward, and making the Ad-

+ vantage

vantage of this Victory: but the Orders of the Court, or to say better, those of *Monsieur Louvois*, suspended that Action, and he was put upon besieging *Charleroy*, which made so brave and so long a Defence, that the taking of it at last was the only Fruit of this Battel, which might have had more advantageous Consequences.

During the Winter, the King form'd the Design of attacking *Mons*, and *Monsieur Louvois*, an excellent Minister for disposing these sorts of Enterprises, by his Foresight and Activity, furnish'd him early with near a hundred thousand Men, and all the Munitions, Artillery, and other Provisions necessary to form the Siege of that Place, before the Enemy was got together. I will not enter into the Particulars of this Siege; I shall only say, that the King, who wou'd always sustain what he had once undertaken, was disturb'd, when he understood, that King *William* was advanc'd as far as *Hall*, with forty thousand Men:
and

and tho' there was nothing to fear with the Number of Troops which the King had; yet the Duke of *Luxembourg* was detach'd with fourteen thousand Horse or Dragoons, to observe and retard King *William's* March. *Mons* capitulated some Days after. The King return'd to *Versailles*, and left the Command of the Army to the Duke of *Luxembourg*. This Conquest, which the King owed in reality to the Care of *Monsieur Louvois*, contributed to ruin him in his Majesty's Opinion. His Enemies, supported by *Madame de Maintenon*, made the King believe, that *Monsieur Louvois* ascrib'd all the Glory of it to himself. So that when this Minister expected to receive Praises and Thanks from his Master, he perceiv'd that his Majesty grew cold to him, and conceiv'd a mortal Hatred against him, tho' he had now no *Monsieur Seignelai* for the Object of his Jealousy: for that Minister of the Marine died in the Year 1690, not without suspicion of Poison, which was

was thought to come from *Monsieur Louvois*, who on several Occasions exercis'd his Authority over him. The Duke of *Luxembourg* also treated *Monsieur Louvois* haughtily. This was enough to enrage a Man proud and revengeful, who never knew how to pardon. For instance, he never pardon'd the *Grand Prior*, for going directly to the King, and not coming first to him, when that Prince came to bring the News of the Victory gain'd at *Fleurus*, where he had distinguish'd himself. It was much against *Monsieur Louvois*' Will, that the King made him Marshal *de Camp*.

This Minister having treated every body ill, as soon as it could be suspected that his Favour lessen'd, every one fell upon him. One of the things which did him the most Prejudice, was the Advice he had given, and which was follow'd, of burning *Worms, Spire, Frankendal*, and all the Lower *Palatinate*, to the end that the Armies of the Emperor, and of the Empire, might
not

not be able to subsist, nor settle themselves on this side the *Rhine*. Some have pretended, that this Barbarity was necessary in sound Politicks: but many others are not of that Opinion. However that be, this Cruelty inspir'd all *Europe* with Horror against the King, and the whole Nation. His Majesty repented of it, and reproach'd *Monsieur Louvois* for having put him upon it. The Loss of *Mentz* in the Year 1689, had also irritated the King against *Monsieur Louvois*, chiefly because this Place wanted Powder; and also because the *Marquis d'Uxelles*, a Creature of *Monsieur Louvois*, after having defended the Cover'd Way fifty Days, with all the Art and Bravery imaginable, had surrender'd the Town all on a suddain, tho' it was believ'd it could have held out some time longer; and this for want of Powder; notwithstanding the Assurance that Minister had given him, that there was more than there could be occasion for, and all other things in abundance; which

which was not found true. *Monsieur Louvois* was also blamed for the War with the Duke of *Savoy*, of which he was doubly the Author, what by settling a Post at *Turin*, which did not depend upon that Duke; and endeavouring to force that Prince to deliver up the Citadel of that Place to the King; and lastly, by hind'ring a *Piemontese* Nobleman from coming to Court, and speaking to the King, who came to offer him what Conditions he pleas'd, and was got as far as *Orleans*. All these things had lost *Monsieur Louvois* in the King's Favour; and that alone which upheld him, was the need of him in the War, which his Majesty imagin'd he had at that time. For besides all this, the Temper of this Minister was not capable of submitting; and one Day among others, that he had a Dispute with the King, upon his Majesty's telling him, that this Order might cost his Head, *Monsieur Louvois* flew into such a Passion, as to throw the Papers upon the Council Table, saying,
he

he wou'd have nothing more to do with the King's Affairs. This Scene, after which *Madame de Maintenon* made up the Matter, happen'd but a little before *Monsieur Louvois*' Death; the manner of which was very extraordinary: being come to the King in the Morning to do Business with his Majesty, according to his usual Custom, he found himself indispos'd, and his Countenance chang'd. The King hereupon put off the Business to another time; and *Monsieur Louvois* was scarce got back to his House, when he expir'd, the very moment they let him blood. His Death, as well as *Monsieur Seignelai*'s, was suspected of poison; and it is said, that a Pot of Water was poison'd, which was always in a little Cupboard near his Table. The Duke of Savoy was suspected to have procur'd this to be done by *Monsieur Seron*, *Monsieur Louvois*' Physician, whom he had gain'd to his Interest.

It has been said of *Monsieur Louvois*, that he shou'd either have never been

been born, or have lived longer: for if he had not been born, he wou'd not have engag'd the Nation in a War, and in Expences which have ruin'd it: and if he had lived to this time, he had Talents proper to support the Weight of Publick Affairs. From all that I have said, one may judge of him, and pronounce boldly, that he was a Man capable of serving well in the Ministry, but not of governing. The King, who did not seem any wile to regret the Loss of him, thro' the Aversion he had conceiv'd for him, put into his Place the *Marquis de Barbesieux*, *Monsieur Louvois'* second Son, who had had the Survivance of that Charge, after the Father himself had caus'd it to be taken from his eldest Son the *Marquis de Courtenvaux*, by reason of his Incapacity.

The *Marquis de Barbesieux* had in reality more Sense than the other, but not more Judgment or Experience. However, he soon govern'd all within the Limits of his Post, as the other
Mini-

Ministers did in the Court: for one of the Misfortunes of that Reign, was the Power which the King gave his Ministers, in every part of the Government committed to them, without any of them regarding that Relation which all the Parts had to each other, and that which they had to the Body of the State: so that the wisest Men have always wish'd for one first Minister: but the Vanity of the King, who was come from under the Guardianship of Cardinal *Mazarin*, could never permit it; and he always look'd upon this, as the greatest Misfortune that cou'd happen to a Prince. Yet he has not been less govern'd than the rest of our Kings; but he has chosen to be govern'd by many, rather than by one alone. At first he had able Ministers, who guided him with fewer Mistakes, and had gain'd some sort of Empire over him. At last he employ'd Persons of little Sense, with an Imagination, that he should rule them, and better shew his great Talents: but he
was

was also govern'd by them, and the Talents of the Prince were not able to prevail over the Incapacity of the Ministers. Nay, he thought himself oblig'd to support them in all, and against all; and for their sakes, often depriv'd himself of the Assistance of some of his best Subjects, and such as had deserv'd much of him. Marshal *Catinat*, in the War I am speaking of, had the Command of the Army in *Piémont*, and carried on the War there with great Conduct, Courage, and Success. He won the Battel of *Staffarde*; and it was none of his Fault, that we did not afterwards attack, and make our selves Masters of *Turin*; but the repeated Orders of *Monsieur Louvois*, his Relation and Benefactor, oblig'd him, against his Will, in the latter Season, to order *Monsieur Bulonde* to lay siege to *Coni*; which he was oblig'd soon after to raise. Neither the Capacity of *Monsieur Catinat*, which at last occasion'd him to be made Marshal of *France*, nor the Voice of the People,

238 *MEMOIRS of*

People, were able to hinder the King from sacrificing him to *Monsieur Chamillard*.

With regard to the Siege of *Coni*, I am oblig'd here to mention a Fact, which shews how much Consternation the Court was thrown into, upon the least Reverse of Fortune. When *Monsieur Louvois* heard, that the Siege of *Coni* was rais'd, he went to the King weeping, and in great trouble, to carry him this News, on which himself was inconsolable. The King answer'd him wisely, and very well, *You are cast down for a little Matter. It is plainly seen, that you are too much us'd to good Success. For my part, who remember to have seen the Spanish Troops in Paris, I am not so easily cast down.* That Prince has since had occasion for his Constancy, when bad News has arriv'd at the same time from all Parts. This is the last time we shall mention *Monsieur Louvois*, unless it be to observe the Good and the Ill, which those Times, and what

since happen'd, have discover'd in the Maximes that he had establish'd.

This same Year 1691, the Duke of *Luxembourg*, at the End of the *Campagne*, beat the Enemy's Cavalry at *Leuze*. The Duke of * *Chartres*, the Duke of *Orleans's* Son, who was sixteen Years of Age, and then made his first *Campagne*, was there, as well as the Duke of *Maine*. The General took great Care, that they shou'd not expose themselves too much: but the Year following at *Steinkirke*, and since at *Neerwinde*, the Duke of *Chartres* shew'd plainly, that it was none of his Fault, that he had not charg'd at the Head of his Dragoons at *Leuze*; and given Proof of that Valour, which distinguishes him, no less than his Birth, from other Men. In the Year 1692, the King form'd the Design to go and attack *Namur*, the strongest Place of all the *Spanish Netherlands*: and in truth the Enterprize was wor-

* This is the present Duke of Orleans, who in his Father's Life-time was styled Duke of Chartres.

thy of him. He took the Town within eight Days after the Trenches were open'd on the low side towards the *Maese*, under the Cover of a Hill, which came within Musket Shot of the greatest part of the Ramparts: so that King *William* had not the time to come to its Relief. The King remov'd afterwards towards the Citadel, posted his Army from the *Sambre* to the *Maese*, and by that means shortned the Circumvallation. This Citadel was esteem'd almost impregnable: accordingly the Siege of it lasted a whole Month; and the continual Rains had like to have sav'd the Town, as they destroy'd great part of the King's Army. King *William* got together four-score thousand Men to relieve the Place: but the Duke of *Luxembourg* hinder'd him coming near the Town; so that at last the Castle surrender'd. Thus this Victory was doubly agreeable to the King, on account both of its Importance, and that it was gain'd in King *William's* Sight. At the time
the

the Citadel capitulated, we might have join'd the Duke of *Luxembourg's* Army with the King's, which wou'd have been one third part stronger than that of the Enemy, and might have fought them in the Plains of *Fleurus*, with a Body of Horse much more numerous and better than theirs: or if they had retir'd towards *Bruxelles* without fighting, might every Day charge and defeat their Rere, and put them out of Condition to keep the Field. I said this that moment to *Monsieur Chantai*, who was then a Man consulted. He found that I was in the right, *but we must do*, says he, *what we can with this Man*. Indeed the King had always a Repugnance to run any great Risque. He has appear'd to want both Courage and Sense, tho', I believe, he wanted neither. On the other Hand, he gave too much ear to prudential Counsels, when the most bold and venturous wou'd have set him above every thing.

This same Year 1692, King *William*, enterprizing in his Nature, and provok'd to see *Namur* taken before his Face, attack'd the Duke of *Luxembourg* at *Steenkirk*, and had like to have conquer'd him; having fallen with all his Army upon the right Wing of our's, which was not appriz'd, till very late, that the Enemy's Army was coming to attack them, and scarce had the time to put themselves into a Posture to give them a good Reception. That which deceiv'd the Duke of *Luxembourg*, who was a little indispos'd, was a Correspondence he had with a Secretary * of King *William's*; for this Correspondence being discover'd, this Secretary was made to give our General false Advice, that the Enemy wou'd come that Day towards our Army, to make a great Forrage: so that when our Parties assur'd him, that the whole Army of the Enemy was going

* *It was a Musician or Valet de Chambre of the Elector of Bavaria, named Millevois.*

to fall upon him, he could not believe it, nor be persuaded of it, till the Brigade of *Bourbonnois*, which possels'd the Hill on our Right, was attack'd. He hasted thither with all Diligence, and had the Mortification to see that Brigade in disorder, and the Enemy Masters of that Hill, and of some Pieces of Canon which we had there. He caus'd them to be attack'd once and again: But at the third Attack, having put himself, and the Dukes of *Chartres* and *Bourbon*, the Prince of *Conti*, the Duke of *Vendôme*, the Grand Prior, and the rest of the General Officers, at the Head of the Brigade of the Guards, who march'd to the Enemy with their Bayonets in the Muzzles of their Muskets, and Sword in Hand, without firing; he drove them from that Post, and made a terrible Slaughter of them. We pursued them as far as the Camp from whence they came, and took many of their Standards and Colours, and part of the Canon which they brought with

them. The Enemy lost a very great Number of their best Troops; and our Loss, tho' less, was yet considerable.

The Prince of *Turenne*, the Duke of *Bouillon's* eldest Son, a Person of Sense and Courage, and of great Hope, was kill'd there; so were the *Marquis de Tilladel*, *de Bellefonds*, and a great many other Officers. The Duke of *Chartres* being wounded on this Occasion, after his Wound was dress'd, return'd to the Fight, which gain'd him great Honour, as it likewise did his Governour, the *Marquis d'Arcis*, who had importunately desir'd of the Duke of *Luxembourg*, that this Prince might come to the Action, tho' he commanded a Party of Reserve, which was not there.

The Duke of *Luxembourg* order'd *Monsieur Albergotti*, one of his Favourites, that had distinguish'd himself upon this Occasion, to carry the News to the King. *Albergotti*, who had been of the Cabal with the Prince of *Conti*, and with the General's eldest Son,

Son, in order to govern him; and for this Reason had a mind to embroil him with the Duke of *Vendôme* and his Brother, especially with the Grand Prior, who was by no means his Favorite, spoke but little or nothing of them in the Account which he gave to the King. However, they had had a great Share in the good Success. It is certain, that *Monsieur de Vendôme*, at first by himself, and afterwards by his Brother, had determin'd the Duke of *Luxembourg* not to abandon the Hill, but to retake it, whate'er it should cost: for at first this General had a mind to make all his Right repass the Brook behind his Camp; and if he had done so, he had run a Risque of being entirely overthrown. These two Brothers had likewise charg'd at the Head of the Battalions as bravely as any; and *Monsieur de Vendôme* had disposed the Right, where the Regiments of Dragoons were, who did Wonders: so that instead of being forgot, they ought to have had a good

Share of the Praise, which this Action deserv'd.

Monsieur de Luxembourg himself told *Monsieur de Vendôme*, that he owed much to him, and that he would declare it. Yet if the Abbot of *Chaulieu* and I had not known by our Letters, that there had been a great Battel in *Flanders*, in which *Messieurs de Vendôme* had their part, there had been no talk of them; since being come to *Versailles* at the time that this News was just publish'd, the Duke of *Orleans*, who came from the King, and knew what Interest I had in those Gentlemen, told me, they were not in the Action. But I set his Highness right; and every body else was likewise soon undeceiv'd: for the Abbot of *Chaulieu* being with the Prince of *Condé*, when *Monsieur Albergotti* gave him an Account of this Action; because he said nothing of *Monsieur de Vendôme*, and his Brother, the Prince ask'd him, if they were not there: and *Monsieur Albergotti* could not forbear

forbear answering, Yes, though very drily. A few Days after, all the Letters of the Army being full of their Praises, shew'd evidently, that there was Affectation in this Silence. *Messieurs de Vendôme* complain'd loudly of *Monsieur de Luxembourg*, and were not Friends with him till the Moment of his Death; when he sent for them, and desir'd to be restor'd to their Friendship; at which they were both very sensibly touch'd. This was neither the first, nor the last time in this Century, that Justice has not been done to those, who had distinguish'd themselves in Battels; and I believe it has been the same in all Times.

This Battel, which cost both sides very dear, prevented them from searching after each other the rest of this *Campagne*. The following Year 1693, it appear'd at first, that the King had great Projects, which vanish'd all on a suddain. It is not known, either why, or how the King, being resolv'd,

as it seem'd, to penetrate into the Enemies Country, left the Duke of *Orleans*, his Lieutenant - General in *France*, with seven or eight Thousand Men, to guard the Coasts, which were threatned by the *English*. It must be observ'd, that this Year there was in *France* a great Scarcity of Corn, which join'd to the Avarice of those, who had Provision thereof, caus'd a kind of Famine; and Bread rose to seven Pence a Pound. The Duke of *Orleans* therefore threw the People Money all along the Road from *Paris* to *Pont Ourson* in *Bretagne*. The *Chevalier de Lorraine*, the *Marquis Deffiat*, and I, who were with him in his Coach, had each of us a Bag of a Thousand Livers in Half-Crowns and Crown Pieces, of which there was not one left at the End of the Journey. This got this Prince the Hearts of the People, who was besides of an affable Temper. He waited with Impatience for the News of the King's Expedition in *Flanders*,
when

when a Courier brought him that of his Majesty's Return to *Versailles*. He was surpriz'd at it, and concern'd to the last degree, not without Reason ; for the King saw himself in a Condition at *Gemblours* to attack King *William*, who was at the Abby of *Parc* under *Louvain*, which he did not dare to leave, and had but Forty Thousand Men, whilst the King might have march'd to him on both sides of *Bruxelles*, with two Armies of Sixty Thousand Men each. This Prince did in earnest think himself lost, at the time that he heard, the King was gone for *Versailles*, and had sent the Dauphin into *Germany*, with great part of his Forces. This seem'd to him so little probable, that he has since said, that he had suspected the Emperor and his Allies had treated with the King without his Knowledge. The Author of this Advice was never known ; but it was suspected to come from *Madame Maintenon*, upon the
King's

King's having had some Fits of an Ague: and it was very likely the Advice of a Woman, since *Monsieur de Luxembourg*, and all the other Ministers disown'd it. Accordingly this Retreat did no Honour to the King, who from that time was never at the Head of his Army, where yet he had always been fortunate. His Arms still prosper'd the rest of this *Campagne*, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Luxembourg*. This General had a Mind to surprize *Liege*; but the Enemy had form'd very strong Lines under that City, and had left Thirty Thousand Men there to guard them. The Duke of *Luxembourg* made all the necessary Preparations for attacking them: But the same Day that he had caus'd *Fascines* to be made, to march to those Lines, having had Advice, that the Enemy, who were weaker than he, were retiring towards *Layette*, he resolv'd to follow them instantly, and march'd all Night, so that on the
Morrow

Morrow he came upon them, and found them encamp'd beyond *Layette*. Being slow, and his Rere not yet come up, he could not attack them till the Day after. Most People thought, that King *William* would have laid Bridges, and pass'd his Army over next Day : but he found himself posst to advantageously, that being also persuaded, that to maintain his Credit with the *English*, it was best to fight, he employ'd all the Night only in making a Retrenchment in the Front of his main Body, and well furnishing and fortifying two Villages, which clos'd his two Wings. The Duke of *Luxembourg*'s Orders were not at first punctually executed. Our Right too soon attack'd their Left, and was not able to penetrate into their Village, that, as well as one part of their Line, was cover'd with a great *Ravine*, which was the Occasion that the Enemy, seeing themselves quiet on their Left, march'd the greatest Part of their Forces to
the

the Village of *Nerwinde*, which was on their Right. We made our selves Masters of it at first: but they drave us out of it; and there was a time, when the Prince of *Conti*, who did Wonders in the Fight, and Marshal *Villeroy* thought of retreating. But the Duke of *Luxembourg* asking the Duke of *Bourbon*, what he thought of it, that Prince answer'd, that he would engage to retake the Village of *Nerwinde*, if he would give him Ten fresh Battalions; and accordingly he put himself and the Prince of *Conti* at the Head of the Brigade of the Guards, and they carried the Village. But this had been still nothing, if our Cavalry, of which the Duke of *Chartres* was General, had not pass'd the Retrenchment to engage that of the Enemy. After having broke into the two first Lines, he was repuls'd by the third, and in Danger of being taken; but being assisted by two of his Domesticks, and having been oblig'd to kill

kill with his own Sword one of those that pursued him, he recover'd our Line; and after he had put it in Order, he again charg'd the Enemy's Horse, and so disorder'd them, that they never rallied again any more than their Foot: So that we push'd them into the River *Layette*, where a great Number of them perish'd: Insomuch that for above four Days there were not of all this Army so many as a Thousand met in any one Place together. But the Duke of *Luxembourg*, for want of Bread, as was said, or else of Money to make an End of the War, did not pursue the Victory, as he might have done. It is also true, that though we were Conquerors, yet our Loss was great, as well as the Fatigue which our Army had suffer'd for some Days. This was a very bloody Battel, and if we had made the Advantage of it, it might have prov'd decisive. But our Generals have always stood in so much Awe of the Court, that the Apprehension

hension of being ruin'd by bad Success, has made them stop at the first Advantages they have gain'd, without thinking of pursuing them to the utmost, and that by this unhappy Thought, of studying only to please the King, without any regard to the publick Good, in which the greatest Part of our Generals have been almost as much to blame, as the Ministers.

This same Year Marshal *Catinat* in *Piémont* won the Battel of *Marfaille*, which if he had not done, he must have repass'd the Mountains. But the Duke of *Savoy* was willing to make Advantage of the great Forces which the Emperor had sent him, and had no mind to avoid Fighting, when the other desir'd it. The Duke of *Vendôme*, and the Grand Prior his Brother, being fallen out, as I said, with the Duke of *Luxembourg*, serv'd this Year in *Italy*; and the former, being the eldest General, commanded the Left of our Army, and had a great Share

Share in the Victory, as well as his Brother, who commanded the Left of the second Line, and was wounded in the Thigh. The Duke of *Vendôme* by the Disposition of the Ground was oblig'd to charge two gross Battalions with the *Gendarmerie*, which through the extraordinary Situation of the Place, was at first put into Disorder by them; but the Duke rallied them within a Hundred Paces, and being join'd by some Squadrons of the second Line, he charg'd those Battalions again with such Readiness and Vigor, before they were in a Condition to sustain a second Attack, that he routed not only the first, but the second Line of the Enemy, and rejoin'd Marshal *Catinat*, who had found less Opposition, and had defeated their Right: So that the Victory was complete. Yet there were some few of our Troops repuls'd by some of the Enemy's Squadrons: but this Disorder was soon remedied; and the Enemy
were

256 *MEMOIRS* of, &c.

were pursu'd to the Gates of *Turin*. This Victory made us Masters of the Plains of *Piémont*, where a great Part of the King's Army winter'd. Thus this *Campagne* was equally glorious, and advantagious to *France*, and dispos'd the Duke of *Savoy* to the Peace, which he made afterwards, and which drew on that of *Ryswick*.

F I N I S.



